THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

DECEMBER 1988 $3.50

CALIFORNIA Journal

Whew! It's over

Complete election returns

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New Issue

$239,320,000

Southern California Public Power Authority

(a public entity organized under the laws of the State of California)

Transmission Project Revenue Bonds, 1988 Refunding Series A

(Southern Transmission Project)

The Bonds are dated November 1, 1988 (Zero Coupon Bonds are dated as of delivery date), due July 1, as shown below, and are subject to redemption prior to maturity as described in the Official Statement.

In the opinion of Bond Counsel, under existing law, the interest on the 1988 Bonds is exempt from personal income taxes of the State of California and, assuming compliance with the tax covenant described in the Official Statement, the interest on the 1988 Bonds is excluded from gross income for Federal income tax purposes and is not a specific preference item for purposes of the Federal alternative minimum tax. See, however, "Federal and State Income Taxes" in the Official Statement for a description of certain other taxes on corporations.

The 1988 Bonds are not obligations of the State of California, any public agency thereof (other than the Authority), any member of the Authority or any Project Participant and neither the faith and credit nor the taxing power of any of the foregoing (including the Authority) is pledged for the payment of the 1988 Bonds. The Authority has no taxing power.

$82,240,000 Serial Bonds

Amount	Due	Interest Rate	Price
$2,040,000	1989	5.60%	100%
1,945,000	1990	5¾	100
2,060,000	1991	5.90	100
2,180,000	1992	6	100

Amount	Due	Interest Rate	Price or Yield
$2,310,000	1993	6⅛ %	100%
2,450,000	1994	6¼	100
2,605,000	1995	6.40	100
2,770,000	1996	6½	6.55
5,150,000	1997	6.60	6.70

Amount	Due	Interest Rate	Price or Yield
$12,940,000	1998	6.80%	100 %
13,860,000	1999	6⅞	7
15,425,000	2000	7	7.05
16,505,000	2001	7.10	7.15

$18,355,000 7.30% Term Bonds Due July 1, 2008 — Price 99.250%
$10,195,000 5¾ % Term Bonds Due July 1, 2009 — Price 82.682%
$10,780,000 5¾ % Term Bonds Due July 1, 2010 — Price 82.332%
$11,400,000 7 % Term Bonds Due July 1, 2011 — Price 95.375%
(Accrued interest to be added)

$106,350,000 Zero Coupon Bonds

Principal Amount	Initial Amount	Maturity	Yield	Price (per $100)
$17,675,000	$6,794,624	2002	7.150%	38.442
11,095,000	3,947,823	2003	7.200%	35.582
11,085,000	3,647,298	2004	7.250%	32.903
8,855,000	2,691,654	2005	7.300%	30.397
8,855,000	2,548,380	2006	7.200%	28.779*

Principal Amount	Initial Amount	Maturity	Yield	Price (per $100)
$12,195,000	$2,244,124	2012	7.300%	18.402*
12,200,000	2,089,616	2013	7.300%	17.128*
12,195,000	1,944,249	2014	7.300%	15.943*
12,195,000	1,809,738	2015	7.300%	14.840*

*Payment of principal and interest, when due, will be guaranteed by Financial Guaranty Insurance Company, as described in the Official Statement.

The 1988 Bonds are offered subject to the approval of legality by Mudge Rose Guthrie Alexander & Ferdon, Los Angeles, California, Bond Counsel, and certain other conditions. Certain legal matters will be passed upon for the Underwriters by their counsel, O'Melveny & Myers.

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November 4, 1988

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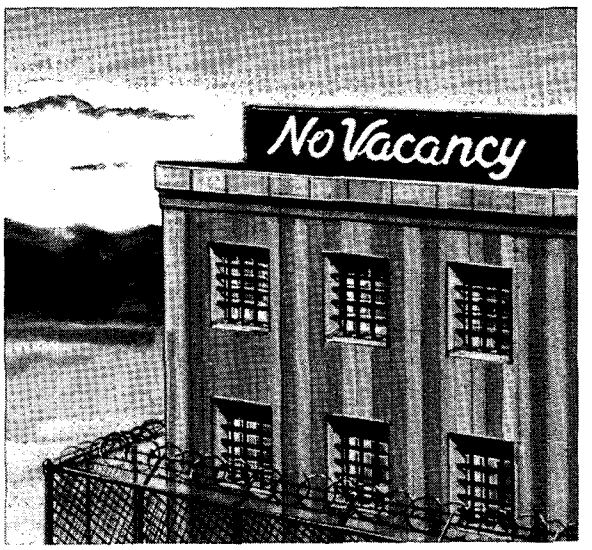

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CALIFORNIA Journal

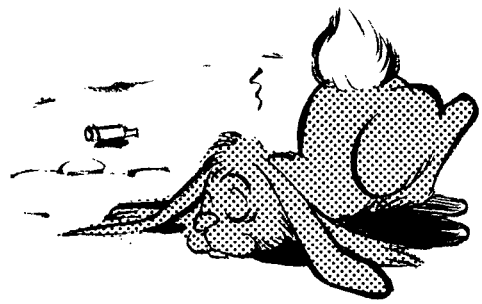
VOLUME XIX, NUMBER 12 DECEMBER 1988

Campaign 1988 **513**

Campaign '88 was memorable for its dearth of substance, its distortions and its lack of appeal to voters. California Journal's *analysis includes district-by-district results for all legislative and congressional races, plus wrap-ups on the presidential race in California, U.S. Senator Pete Wilson's quest for reelection and 29 ballot measures.*

The Youth Authority **531**

Does the California Youth Authority rehabilitate young offenders or create hardened criminals? By Bruce Scheidt



So long, H.L. **537**

After 22 years and many pitched battles, H.L. Richardson rides into the political sunset. By Dan Smith

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Leon Panetta **543**

Monterey's representative in the U.S. House of Representatives is the Congress' new point man on the federal budget.
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Cover photo by Rich Pedroncelli

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UP FRONT

No respect department. Legislative division. Poor Wayne Grisham. First he blows a victory in the 33rd Senate district. Then he puts his own Assembly district in jeopardy. Now he finds he can't even buy lunch. Grisham was back in the Capitol two days after the election to meet with the Republican caucus, even though at the time he was losing the election by some 90 votes, when he went up to the employees cafeteria on the sixth floor to get a bite to eat. Like many state employees, he wanted to charge his lunch, but cafeteria employees, apparently avid readers of election returns, refused to extend credit. We hear he had to pay cash.

Poll-of-the-year. Sandra Hester, the Democratic state Senate candidate from the 27th District, claimed a week before the election that a local poll showed she had the votes to upset GOP Assemblyman Bill Leonard in the battle to replace retiring state Senator H.L. Richardson. This was news, considering that the district is overwhelmingly Republican. Hester's poll indicated that 63 percent of the women in that district would side with her. The poll wasn't exactly scientific, however; it had been taken among customers at beauty parlors in eastern Los Angeles County.

Midas in reverse. When it came to ballot initiatives, Governor George Deukmejian had a mediocre election season. Voters handed the governor a stinging rebuke by passing Proposition 97, which restored funding for the Cal-OSHA program that Deukmejian had axed from the budget last June. The governor campaigned against Prop 97. He opposed Prop 99, the tobacco tax, and it passed. He opposed Prop 103, the Ralph Nader-backed insurance initiative, and it passed. And he opposed Prop 105, the consumer-disclosure proposal, and it passed. Finally, the governor backed Prop 102, a controversial AIDS testing and reporting measure which failed two-to-one. Not only did the governor endorse 102 against the advice of his own health advisors, some observers credit Deukmejian's support for helping defeat the initiative by shedding enough light on it to ensure its defeat. On the plus side, the governor opposed Props 100, 101, 104 and 106 — insurance-related all — and each failed. He also opposed the homeless initiative (Prop 95) which failed and supported another AIDS-related measure (Prop 96) which passed.

Strange bedfellows. Republicans made an all-out and ultimately unsuccessful effort to oust Democrat Phil Isenberg from the 10th Assembly District in one of this Fall's nastier campaigns. Isenberg, a former mayor of Sacramento, was the target of numerous hit pieces from his GOP opponent, Larry Bowler, a lieutenant with the Sacramento County Sheriff's Department. One such piece chastised Isenberg's endorsement by various police unions, including the Sacramento County Deputy Sheriffs Association. Meanwhile, across town, one of Bowler's Republican teammates, 5th Assembly District incumbent Tim Leslie, was running ads touting support he'd received from — you guessed it — the Sacramento County Deputy Sheriffs Association.

One of the groups written about in last month's article on grassroots activism (see "Flowering at the grassroots," *CJ*, November 1988) has changed its name. The California Tax Reduction Movement is now known as the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, in honor of its late founder. The group, which is headquartered in Los Angeles, plans to open a Sacramento office this month.

The newest campaign rage this year was the video tape. Mass-production costs can apparently get the price of these tapes below $2 each, and in some well-heeled areas just about everyone has a VCR. That gives candidates a chance to get a 10-minute or so pitch into the hands of a lot of people at a reasonable cost. The newest advocate of this technique is none other than political consultant Richie Ross, who is back on top this year after being left for dead only two years ago. Ross distributed videos on behalf of congressional candidate Anna Eshoo, who fought a pitched battle with Republican Tom Campbell in the 12th District. But conversions are getting easy for Ross. It wasn't long ago that Ross was loudly arguing that videos were too expensive and would not work.

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Last of the breed. KRON-TV, an NBC affiliate in San Francisco, has closed its Sacramento bureau and laid off reporter Ginger Rutland and her producer-husband, Don Fields. KRON was the last non-Sacramento television station to maintain a presence in the Capitol.

Last month, in a story about grassroots activism (see "Flowering at the grassroots, *CJ*, November 1988), we referred tc San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos' grassroots' guru as Larry Travatola. State Senator Dan Boatwright wondered whether it was the same fellow who helped organize his grassroots effort during his June Democratic primary battle with Contra Costa County Supervisor Sunne McPeak. Boatwright said his guy was Larry Tramatola. Yes, Senator, it's the same guy, and your spelling is correct.

"The greatest danger to human beings is their consciousness of the trivialities of their aims."
— Gerald Brennan

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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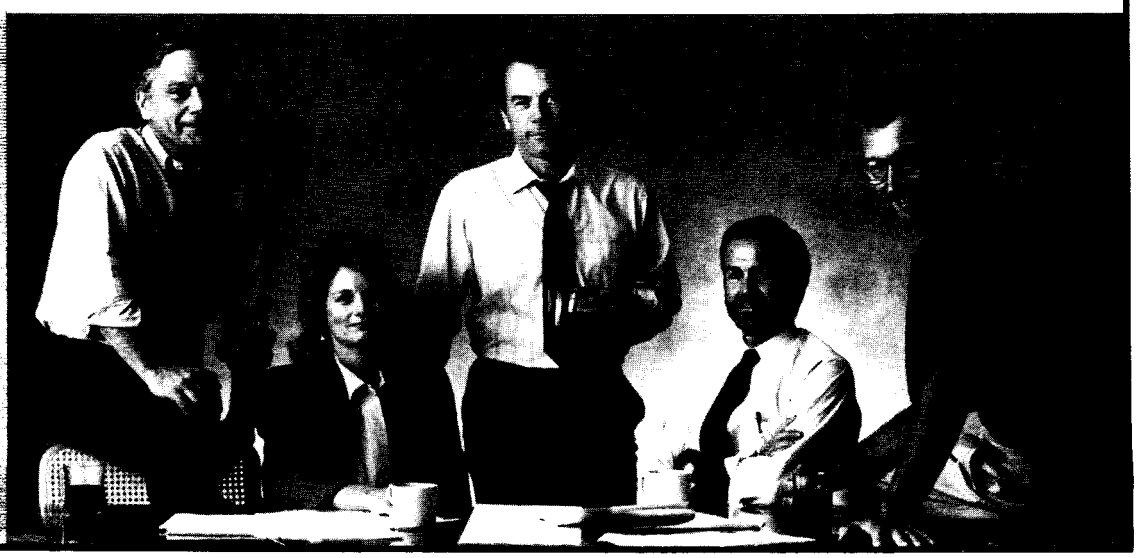

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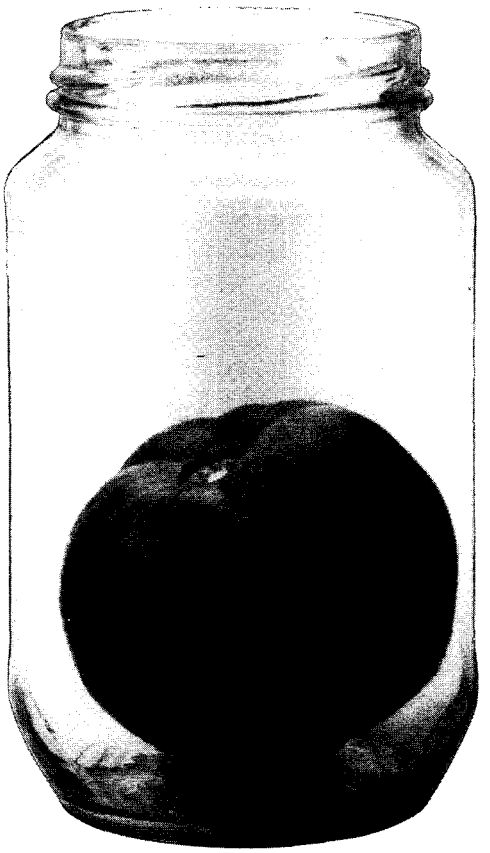

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ROSTRUM

The election

The day before the recent election, we stayed up until two in the morning, pondering decisions we had to make the following day. On election day, we continued our discussions for another hour and a half, deciding on what we felt were the proper choices. We considered our personal philosophies and needs, as well as our hopes and aspirations for our family, our community and our country. We tried to be fair and to make our judgments, not on emotion, but on common sense.

The job of choosing the right individual for the executive and legislative positions drew on our political leanings and philosophies, as well as on our assessment of each candidate's judgment and experience. Those choices were fairly clear.

To make a reasonable decision on 29 propositions, however, required us to draw on our understanding of economics, budgeting procedures, fiscal policy, social welfare, education, criminal justice, constitutional law, recent court actions both in and out of California, insurance regulations, taxing and spending philosophy, redevelopment and general-obligation bonding laws and procedures, medicine, health issues and safety issues. We are both well educated, keep abreast of current events and issues and have business backgrounds which encompass the political arena and municipal finance. Hopefully, we made the right decisions.

The task was a difficult one. The number of decisions was excessive and seemed at times to be overwhelming. We felt uneasy about having to decide on conflicting propositions, as well as on laws which were only partially acceptable and often poorly drafted. It raised a number of questions in our minds: Why are we having to decide so many issues at the ballot box, and why aren't our elected representatives legislating?

The answers aren't simple. It seems that a fear of making a decision has pervaded Sacramento. Whether that fear is caused by political power-brokering, the threat of losing one's committees and percs, or the lack of courage of conviction, the job these men and women were sent to Sacramento to do is not being done.

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We cherish our freedom and our right to vote. However, in a representative democracy, we are supposed to elect "representatives" to do the work of governing, not do it ourselves. We are not just tired from a late night; we are tired of not receiving that representation.

ANDREW and LYNDA BARD
Arcadia

Child care

Your article on child care (see "Raising a fuss over child care," *CJ*, October 1988) missed the local perspective; the real action is happening at the municipal level. Cities aren't waiting for the state or federal government to do something but are taking the lead in creating and implementing solutions. Los Angeles is among cities in California making significant progress to "humanize the workplace" and to help employees juggle their conflicting duties at work and at home.

In the past 19 months, Los Angeles has:

- adopted a sweeping child-care policy that formally incorporates the need for affordable and accessible quality child care into all aspects of the city's operations and development;
- hired a full-time child-care coordinator who, assisted by an 11-member advisory board, is working with the public and private sectors to carry out the policy
- started construction of an on-site City Hall Child-Care Center to be jointly operated with the federal government. Scheduled to open in 1988, the center will accommodate 90 children of city and federal employees;
- started converting the city Department of Water and Power's "Optimum House" into another child-care center for municipal employees;
- started changing employment policies and programs to meet the needs of today's families with dependant care, alternative work schedules, parental leave and flexible benefits; and
- participated in a Task Force on Family Economic Policy sponsored by the California League of Cities and the County Supervisors Association of California.

I hope future articles will highlight the progress cities are making to ease the child-care crisis in California.

JOY PICUS
Councilwoman, Third District
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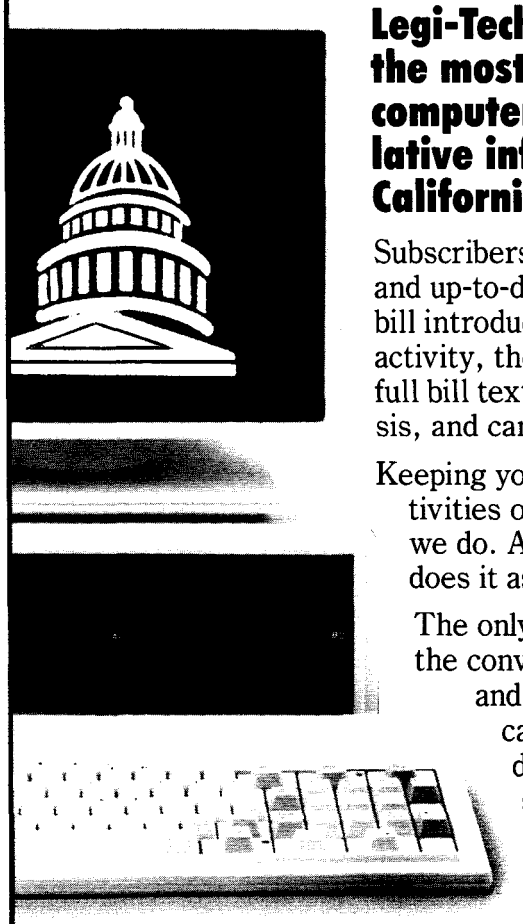

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CAMPAIGN '88

California Journal's district-by-district analysis of the November election

PRESIDENT

Despite being the biggest state in the union, with the most electoral votes, Californians regularly feel left out of presidential contests. The state has one of the last primaries, and it has been a long time since the state's voters had any meaningful role in choosing their party's nominee. This year was no exception; in both parties the winnowing process was complete before Californians voted. And on election night the outcome was, once again, certain before California's polls had even closed.

But the state's voters don't really need to feel so bad; both George Bush and Michael Dukakis waged a fierce battle for the state's 47 electoral votes. For Dukakis, his strategists conceded it was impossible for him to win the presidency without the state. Although Bush could come up with the required 270 electoral votes without President Reagan's home state, his poll standings showed him doing well here, and winning the state would give him more than 17 percent of the votes needed to win. In addition, only once since Franklin Roosevelt was president — during the 1964 Johnson-Goldwater contest — has the state given its presidential vote to a Democrat.

Nonetheless, Democrats felt they had a real shot at the state and polling showed California followed the pattern of the nation as a whole, first indicating a strong preference for Democrat Dukakis, then swinging to Bush following the Republican convention. The vice president held a strong lead, usually in the neighborhood of 12 points, going into the final weeks of the campaign, but Dukakis' populist themes in the closing days, combined with several campaign swings through the state, allowed him to close to 3.3 percent by election day, with some 310,000 votes separating the two candidates.

That outcome must hearten California Democrats, who have watched their registration margin slip in recent years to the point where only a bare majority — 50.36 percent, down from 56.6 percent 10 years ago — now are registered with that party while 38.6 per cent are registered Republicans. They can reassure themselves with the notion that if the Dukakis campaign had only started to counter-attack earlier, or the candidate been a little more attractive, the state would have gone for a Democrat.

Furthermore, Democrats revived some old-fashioned tactics — precinct captains and grassroots get-out-the-vote efforts — that no doubt helped them gain seats in the Assembly and which could pay dividends in future elections. Indeed, new financing rules at both the state and federal level could mean the revival of the state's political parties, and the grassroots efforts launched this year give the Democrats a good starting point, if the existing organization can be maintained.

Although by most reports, these grassroots efforts worked fairly well, they had a difficult beginning. The existing Democratic Party apparatus in the state is not strong, and the new organization had to be built from the ground up. Local politicians were offended when Dukakis selected outsider Anthony Podesta to head his state effort. But Podesta tapped into existing state talent and the Democrats ended up with a more coordinated effort — spurred on by federal campaign-spending laws that allow the parties to use so-called "soft money," money outside the official spending limits, for "party-building" efforts — than they have had for many years.

In contrast, the Bush campaign piggy-backed its efforts onto the existing political organization of Governor George Deukmejian. It helped the Bush campaign in California that the vice president found the nation as a whole was receptive to the law-and-order themes that had proven so successful for Deukmejian. Bush's superior television advertising also no doubt had its effect here as well, although some of the impact probably got lost in the cacophony of commercials, particularly for ballot propositions, that barraged voters.

And in the closing days of the campaign, Bush called on Ronald Reagan to make one last campaign swing into the state. Reagan appeared before the faithful in Orange County,

Dukakis (DEM)	4,449,235	47.7%
Bush (REP)	**4,759,077**	**51.0%**
Griffin (AI)	26,053	0.3%
Paul (LIB)	68,836	0.7%
Fulani (IND)	29,315	0.3%

and in the end, it was that county, almost by itself, that provided Bush's margin of victory. Orange County went more than two-to-one for Bush, and he won there by more than 300,000 votes.

If Democrats could take heart in some of their campaign efforts, including the fact that Fresno County went for Bush by only two-tenths of a point, there are also warning signs in the returns. All of the state's fastest-growing areas — Riverside and San Bernardino counties, San Diego County and even former Democratic stronghold Sacramento County — went for Bush.

Democrats won a majority of votes primarily in the counties surrounding San Francisco Bay and in Los Angeles County. But that county, with its 2.5 million voters, went for Dukakis by only some 138,000 votes, no where near enough to compensate for Republican voters living in that city's suburbs outside the county lines. Riverside and San Bernardino counties together more than compensated for Los Angeles County, giving Bush a margin of more than 142,000 votes.

And overall, the enthusiasm of the voters for the electoral process continues to decline. Despite reports early in the day that the turnout would be heavy, on election day it ended up being 68.8 percent. Although a substantial number of absentee ballots will push that above 70 percent, it will still be the lowest turnout in history for a presidential election.

Perhaps it was the candidates; perhaps the plethora of ballot measures or the overwhelming volume of commercials that turned off voters. Maybe it's just the times. But whatever the cause, future elections may end up going to the candidate who can organize and motivate his voters to make it to the polls. After all, this year's presidential contest was decided by fewer than seven votes per precinct.

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US SENATE

On election night, Republican Pete Wilson displayed a tee-shirt indicating that he had beat the "jinx" associated with his Senate seat. No one for the past 30 years has held that post for more than one term. And while 15 people in California history have held the U.S. Senate slot now held by Alan Cranston, some 25 have occupied the one held by Wilson.

Jinx or no, Wilson convincingly won a second term over Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, receiving 52.6 percent of the vote to 44.2 percent for the challenger. Now maybe he can start looking toward California's great reformer Hiram Johnson as a longevity model. Johnson also held that same Senate seat — for 28 years.

The U.S. Senate contest featured two intelligent but bland candidates whose campaigns were all but lost amongst those for president and the statewide ballot propositions. The state's media largely ignored the campaign, except for several of the largest newspapers, and even they assigned reporters to the campaigns fulltime only during the final weeks.

McCarthy (DEM)	4,061,122	44.2%
Wilson (REP)	**4,837,300**	**52.6%**
Short (AI)	62,595	0.7%
Dean (LIB)	75,275	0.8%
Munoz (PF)	158,061	1.7%

For Wilson, this lack of attention played right into his election strategy. Wilson deliberately kept a low profile during his first term, reasoning it was the well-publicized mistakes of his predecessors that had landed them in trouble. On most issues, he was loyal to President Ronald Reagan, particularly in the area of national defense. But on social questions, he broke ranks just enough to appear moderate to Californians. The Wilson approach gave McCarthy, or any challenger, little to shoot at.

Still, the blandness of the candidates not withstanding, this could have been the kind of campaign that good-government advocates like to see. The differences between the two candidates were clear, and both are articulate and could have engaged in interesting public debates.

It was, of course, in Wilson's interests to keep debates to a minimum. But Wilson had maintained all along that he was willing to debate, and pointed to his good performance six years ago against his opponent, then-Governor Jerry Brown. But with the public distracted elsewhere, Wilson was able to dodge a direct confrontation. He at first was reluctant to pick a date for the debate, saying the lingering congressional session was keeping him in Washington and did not allow him sufficient time to prepare. Then he would agree only to a debate on Los Angeles public-television stations, an audience McCarthy did not think was large enough. McCarthy held out for a bigger venue, but never got Wilson to agree. The campaign was allowed to pass without a debate between the two and without a public outcry over the fact it had not been held.

In the absence of debates or media attention, the candidates turned more than ever to television commercials. But here, too, they were limited. Competing for the public's attention with a presidential campaign and the $130-million effort that went into initiatives, McCarthy lamented at one meeting with reporters that he had to spend even more money on television advertising than is typical. In a normal year, he said, a candidate could expect to get the voters' attention with a commercial if voters saw it, say, three times in a week. But with so many political advertisements on the air, it might take four viewings to achieve the same impact. And McCarthy, who had budgeted about $9 million for the campaign (at least $5 million less than what was available to Wilson) was in no position to make the adjustment. And what he could get on was not enough to overcome his deficit in the polls, which at one point had him down by 19 points to the incumbent.

Wilson worked hard to make sure he stayed in front. In fact, Wilson appeared to take a page from Alan Cranston's successful reelection campaign two years ago. With a substantial financial advantage, Wilson was able to take to the airwaves early to attack McCarthy. McCarthy, without resources to match and saving what he did have for the close of the campaign, was unable to counter. Ironically, Cranston's handlers were running the McCarthy campaign.

Since McCarthy eliminated his primary opponents early, most notably by securing the withdrawal of Los Angeles television commentator Bill Press, Wilson was free to train his attacks on him. He put on commercials aimed at those areas where McCarthy had hoped to do well, such as with senior citizens and environmentalists, and he revived McCarthy's support for defeated former Chief Justice Rose Bird.

But McCarthy backers took heart in the fact that their party's presidential nominee, Michael Dukakis, was way ahead in the polls. Dukakis' popularity, plus the fact that polling showed Wilson's own image was "soft" with the voters, gave McCarthy plenty to work with, his campaign advisors argued.

However, the McCarthy campaign didn't help itself with a series of early blunders, including having peace advocate Helen Caldicott extol the virtues of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at a McCarthy fund raiser. Although McCarthy disassociated himself from the comments, the episode allowed Wilson to reinforce McCarthy's liberal credentials at a time when the lieutenant governor was trying to move toward the middle of the political spectrum.

In anticipation of McCarthy attacks on his record, Wilson launched a preemptive strike. He featured commercials with actor Charlton Heston telling of supposed past attacks by McCarthy and warning voters they could expect more of the same. The commercials had the effect of dampening McCarthy's efforts, no matter how effective.

McCarthy tried to counter with attacks on Wilson's environmental record, his record on senior citizens and by claiming he was a "do-nothing" representative. One commercial said the most important piece of legislation Wilson authored was a resolution about dairy goats. But the substantive attacks had already been blunted by the Heston commercials, and even the dairy goat commercial backfired when it turned out the McCarthy ad featured not a diary goat but a male mountain goat.

McCarthy forces took solace in the fact that even when poll results showed him trailing badly, those same polls still showed a large enough number of "undecided" voters to allow McCarthy to overcome Wilson's lead. On election day, McCarthy came as close as he did at any point, ending up with 44.2 percent of the vote, only 8.4 points behind Wilson, who had 52.6 percent.

The election victory gives Wilson the opportunity to carve a new course in the Senate. Although hampered by the fact that he is in the minority party, the comfortable size of his victory gives him extra room to maneuver. He also will be free, for the first time, from the shadow of Ronald Reagan, a president from his own party and state who was in a position to make unusual demands of loyalty on a freshman senator. Wilson always had an independent streak, and now he has the opportunity to follow that part of his character.

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PROPOSITIONS

For corporate American, California's 1988 election was Kafka-esque — an entire world turned inside out, a nightmare of cosmic proportions. The tobacco and insurance industries spent oodles and oodles of money to defeat measures they considered harmful to their health only to see those efforts obliterated by electoral landslides. On another front, business as a whole took a smaller lump when Californians voted to restore funding for the Cal-OSHA program.

Of the 29 propositions on the November ballot, nine were bond measures, three dealt with property tax adjustments, four with the justice system, and one with where the state could deposit public funds. The remaining 12 were initiatives placed on the ballot by various special-interest groups.

All nine bond measures passed with comfortable margins, showing once again that Californians are not averse to spending money when they are told how it is to be spent. This year, voters approved spending for construction at the state's colleges and universities (Proposition 78), and elementary and secondary schools (79); prisons (80); public water systems (81 and 82); water-pollution and water-reclamation projects (83); housing for homeless and low-income families (84); libraries (85); and county jails and youth shelters and centers (86).

All of the other non-initiatives passed, most by wide margins. Voters agreed to reallocate revenues from the sale of local bonds (87); allow the state to deposit public funds in the state's federally-insured industrial-loan companies (88); allow the governor to review and revoke a parole granted to convicted murderers (89); allow people over age 55 to transfer the assessed value of their homes from one county to another if the new county agrees to the transfer (90); designate justice courts as "courts of record" (91); make the Commission on Judicial Performance more accountable to the public (92); do away with all residency requirements for the veteran's property tax exemption (93); and allow a judge to teach part time in a public institution (94).

But those measures received scant publicity, and almost no money was spent to either pass or defeat them. The real battles took place over the 12 initiatives, with insurance reform and a tobacco tax occupying center stage (see the ballot booklet, *CJ*, October 1988, for more detailed information on each initiative).

Insurance: The insurance industry spent $90 million to accomplish three goals: defeat two consumer-backed initiatives (Propositions 100 and 103) meant to curb its profits and more strictly regulate its rate-making activities; and pass a no-fault insurance initiative (104) and a punitive measure (106) designed to slap a lid on attorney contingency fees.

The result: a black eye the size of Jupiter. Not only did Propositions 104 and 106 lose (no-fault by a margin of three-to-one) but voters approved 103 — the measure insurers feared most.

By far, the battle over how to reform and revamp the sale and regulation of auto insurance was the election's costliest and most confusing campaign. The three-way struggle involved ancient enemies: insurance companies, trial lawyers and consumers. The stakes were enormous: $10 billion in annual auto-insurance premiums, not to mention premiums for other types of insurance; and $2 billion every year in contingency fees to trial attorneys (see "The insurance reform stampede," *CJ*, October 1988).

Consumer groups opened hostilities by placing two initiatives on the ballot: Proposition 100, sponsored by the Insurance Consumers Action Network and backed by among others Consumers Union, Common Cause and MADD; and Proposition 103, sponsored by consumer activist Harvey Rosenfield and backed by Ralph Nader. The California Trial Lawyers Association, mindful of how its profession is regarded by the public, decided not to put its own name on an initiative and threw its weight behind Proposition 100, providing that effort with the bulk of its financial resources. That measure had one little clause the trial lawyers really liked: There could be no restrictions on their contingency fees.

The insurance industry countered with two measures of its own: Proposition 104, which would have installed a no-fault insurance system for California and rolled back many consumer protections now in place; and Proposition 106, which would have put a lid on contingency fees paid to plaintiffs' attorneys.

Insurance industry money fueled the campaign. At first, the industry tried to sell no-fault (104), but when polls showed that Proposition 104 had little support while — horror of horrors — Propositions 100 and 103 might actually pass, the industry concentrated on defeating those two measures. They were especially fearful of 103, which rolled back rates to November 1987, slashed them another 20 percent and locked the reduction in for a year after the election. Prop 103 also affected all types of insurance, including homeowner and business policies.

Mailer after mailer after mailer urged voters to defeat both 100 and 103. Nearly every insurance agency in the state sent notes to clients, detailing the morass that could be created if the two proposals became law. A tidal wave of television ads in Northern California claimed that 100 and 103 would raise rates all over the state in order to lower rates in Los Angeles. The industry bought so much television time that many stations gave consumer advocate Ralph Nader free time to counter the industry's campaign.

Insurers succeeded in tainting Proposition 100 as "a trick" sponsored by trial attorneys, proving that the public's respect for such groups as Common Cause could be poisoned by proximity to lawyers. The campaign against Proposition 103 was more vicious, with many ads personally attacking sponsor Harvey Rosenfield as a political agitator.

If the campaign did anything, it confused a public intent on *not* siding with either lawyers or insurers. The measures themselves were long and technical and left voters searching through a host of supporters for a personality or group they could trust. Surrounded by insurance companies and lawyers, Ralph Nader stood out like a shaft of light in an otherwise bewildering and foreboding wilderness. The Nader-Rosenfield measure (103) was also the only one without support from either well-heeled special interest.

In the end, Proposition 103 squeaked through with barely 51 percent of the vote, or a 200,000-vote margin. Compared with the other four measures, it won in a rout. Prop 103 won only eight of the state's 58 counties, but it carried Los Angeles County by better than 600,000 votes (63 percent to 37 percent). In the rest of the state, 103 lost 53 percent to 47 percent. The eight counties it won were mostly large, mostly urban and, with the notable exception of Orange, mostly Democratic and consumer-oriented (Alameda, Los Angeles, Marin, Orange, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara and Santa Cruz).

The other consumer initiative, Proposition 100, finished better than either of the two industry proposals (101 and 104). It lost 59 percent to 41 percent, which translates into 1.6 mil-

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lion votes. It passed in only one county — Los Angeles — and by only 25,000 votes. Prop 100 did better in large Southern California counties, garnering over 40 percent of the vote in Orange, Riverside, San Diego, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles and Ventura counties. By contrast, it did poorly in Contra Costa, Sacramento, Santa Clara and Sonoma counties in the north.

Of the three measures sponsored by the industry, the best showing was turned in by their attempt to limit attorney fees (106). It lost by nearly 600,000 votes statewide (53 to 47 percent), with half of the deficit coming in Los Angeles County. It won in 35 counties and lost in 23, but fared poorly in nearly all of the state's larger counties. The race was very close everywhere; in 42 of the state's 58 counties, the result was plus or minus 3 percent.

Insurers totally bombed out in attempts to pass their own reform packages, learning a lesson the trial lawyers perceived long ago — a special interest that is universally tolerated but universally despised shouldn't put its name on an initiative. The industry's main effort was Proposition 104 — the no-fault measure. It lost by 4.5 million votes. It carried only Modoc County, but the 87-vote margin there was not enough to offset the 1.3-million vote deficit incurred in Los Angeles County.

The other insurance measure, Proposition 101, was put forward by Democratic Assemblyman Richard Polanco, but its main sponsor was the maverick Coastal Insurance Company, which broke ranks with the rest of the insurance industry to sponsor its own version of reform. It lost by 6.5 million votes, or 87 percent to 13 percent. Sponsors had virtually no money and did not begin to run television ads until the last few weeks. By that time, the public had been so saturated with advertising on the other measures that Prop 101's message disappeared into an atmospheric vortex.

Despite the voters' decision, however, the final chapter is far from written. Insurance companies filed suit against 103 the day after the election and some companies threatened to withdraw from the state because of the law. The insurance companies succeeded in getting the state Supreme Court to block implementation of the measure while some Democrats in the Legislature threatened insurance companies with massive fines if they did not abide by the law's provisions. Ironically, the big winners in the dispute, at least initially, might end up being lawyers — the insurance companies' arch enemies.

Tobacco: Proposition 99 was relatively simple. It imposed an additional 25-cent per-pack tax on the sale of cigarettes, plus a proportionate tax increase on other tobacco products. The money raised from these taxes are meant to educate children and others about the dangers of smoking, provide medical services for those suffering from tobacco-related and other diseases, and fund medical research and conservation programs. The initiative was supported by the American Cancer Society, The California Medical Association, The American Lung Association, Blue Cross of California and a host of groups representing firefighters, dentists, doctors, nurses, educators, and environmentalists.

Proposition 99 was opposed by the tobacco industry, which poured $22 million into the effort to defeat it. Tobacco companies faced a dilemma. They had to make the initiative seem something other than what it was, focusing on hypothetical problems that could hurt the public. Their campaign began with a warning that law-enforcement agencies would be swamped by a wave of cigarette smuggling by youth gangs who would use the profits to buy new and sophisticated weapons for the commission of violent crimes. They ended by scolding voters that Prop 99 discriminated against smokers and claiming that Californians "just don't do that sort of thing."

Pro-99 forces constantly promoted their proposal as a health measure and not a tax increase. From the very beginning of the campaign, they measured their "hard support" at 58 percent — the measure's ultimate percent of the vote. What the tobacco industry succeeded in doing for its $22 million — and it proved a hollow victory — was pare away the "soft support," the additional 14 or 15 percent of the vote that polls indicated supported Prop 99 as late as October. Still, the measure passed by nearly 1.5 million votes, piling up big margins in Los Angeles, Alameda, Orange, San Diego, Santa Clara and San Francisco counties. After the election, sponsors spoke of exporting Proposition 99 clones to other states.

AIDS: Two measures dealt with efforts to test for AIDS — Propositions 96 and 102. Prop 102 was the more controver-

Proposition 78-Higher Education Bond		
Yes	**5,053,675**	**57.6%**
No	3,723,101	42.4%
Proposition 79-School Bond		
Yes	**5,335,280**	**61.2%**
No	3,389,234	38.8%
Proposition 80-Prison Construction Bond		
Yes	**5,275,433**	**61.0%**
No	3,374,346	39.0%
Proposition 81-Safe Drinking Water Bond Law		
Yes	**6,256,061**	**71.6%**
No	2,481,996	28.4%
Proposition 82-Water Conservation Bond Law		
Yes	**5,290,644**	**62.3%**
No	3,201,076	37.7%
Proposition 83-Clean Water Bond Law		
Yes	**5,532,427**	**64.4%**
No	3,061,525	35.6%
Proposition 84-Housing and Homeless Bond		
Yes	**5,130,205**	**58.2%**
No	3,692,066	41.8%
Proposition 85-Library Construction Bond		
Yes	**4,541,138**	**52.6%**
No	4,095,344	47.4%
Proposition 86-County Jail Construction Bond		
Yes	**4,641,181**	**54.7%**
No	3,847,096	45.3%
Proposition 87-Property Taxation		
Yes	**5,512,413**	**67.7%**
No	2,634,357	32.3%
Proposition 88-Deposit of Public Money		
Yes	**6,135,395**	**74.5%**
No	2,103,059	25.5%
Proposition 89-Governor's Parole Review		
Yes	**4,655,450**	**54.9%**
No	3,818,954	45.1%
Proposition 90-Assessed Property Value		
Yes	**5,737,647**	**69.0%**
No	2,581,468	31.0%
Proposition 91-Justice Courts		
Yes	**5,631,425**	**70.5%**
No	2,360,325	29.5%
Proposition 92-Judicial Performance		
Yes	**5,906,525**	**74.0%**
No	2,077,114	26.0%
Proposition 93-Veterans' Tax Exemption		
Yes	**5,933,039**	**70.8%**
No	2,445,523	29.2%
Proposition 94-Judges		
Yes	**5,398,153**	**65.0%**
No	2,909,649	35.0%
Proposition 95-Homeless Funds		
Yes	3,870,882	45.2%
No	**4,689,046**	**54.8%**
Proposition 96-AIDS Tests		
Yes	**5,431 189**	**62.3%**
No	3,289,373	37.7%
Proposition 97-Cal OSHA		
Yes	**4,518,715**	**53.7%**
No	3,890,634	46.3%
Proposition 98-School Funding		
Yes	**4,384,806**	**50.8%**
No	4,249,451	49.2%
Proposition 99-Cigarette Tax		
Yes	**5,268,983**	**57.8%**
No	3,839,259	42.2%
Proposition 100-Auto Insurance Rates		
Yes	3,649,381	41.0%
No	**5,250,998**	**59.0%**
Proposition 101-Auto Insurance Claims		
Yes	1,161,440	13.3%
No	**7,583,729**	**86.7%**
Proposition 102-AIDS Reporting		
Yes	3,027,119	34.3%
No	**5,786,664**	**65.7%**
Proposition 103-Insurance Rates & Regulation		
Yes	**4,580,818**	**51.1%**
No	4,376,916	48.9%
Proposition 104-No-Fault Insurance		
Yes	2,253,691	25.3%
No	**6,641,051**	**74.7%**
Proposition 105-Public Disclosures		
Yes	**4,574,262**	**54.4%**
No	3,836,650	45.6%
Proposition 106-Attorney Fees		
Yes	4,039,697	46.7%
No	**4,607,842**	**53.3%**

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sial. Sponsored by GOP Congressman William Dannemeyer and tax reformer Paul Gann (who has tested positive for AIDS antibodies), 102 would have required doctors, blood banks and others to report to local health officials all persons who test positive for AIDS and AIDS-related antibodies, or who are reasonably believed to have been infected by the AIDS virus. Health officials would have been required to track down all that person's sexual partners. Gay groups were joined by doctors and others to oppose Prop 102, claiming it would hinder efforts to control the disease by discouraging people from being tested.

For most of the Fall, the campaign itself was relegated to a backwater because insurance and tobacco ads dominated the airwaves. And although polls taken as late as October showed a slim majority of voters favored 102, it eventually lost by over 2.7 million votes. Some observers think the turnaround may have come in mid-October when Governor George Deukmejian endorsed 102. Until then, not much had been written about the proposal, but Deukmejian's support created a small firestorm of protest, even from members of the governor's own task force on AIDS. Two members resigned, and papers reported that the governor had endorsed 102 over objections from his staff and health advisors. In an election post-mortem, opponents of 102 claim the controversy surrounding Deukmejian's endorsement may have focused enough light on the proposal to have voters pay attention to it. That, say opponents, sank it.

The other, less-controversial AIDS-testing measure (96) passed easily, winning in every county in the state except Alameda and San Francisco. It will allow the testing of persons accused of certain types of crimes. Much of this measure was already on the books in laws previously approved by the Legislature.

Others: Proposition 95 was supposed to provide money to care for the homeless and poor, but voters apparently didn't like the way it was to be financed — by fining businesses and landlords who violated certain health, safety and building codes. The business community did not mobilize opposition to Prop 95 until late in the campaign but, through groups like the California Chamber of Commerce, eventually dumped enough money into the game to convince voters that the measure was badly written and unfair. Toward the end, even homeless activists expressed reservations, saying it penalized those who often provided the most help to the homeless — namely restaurants and supermarkets.

The voters handed Governor Deukmejian a personal rebuke when they approved Proposition 97, which restored funding for the $8.4-million Cal-OSHA worker's safety inspection program. The governor vetoed money for the program from the budget last June despite the fact that it had widespread support from labor organizations and many businesses, which believe that the inspection program helps them keep insurance premiums under control. Deukmejian campaigned against the measure, but his influence was unable to offset rank-and-file support from labor groups. Statewide, Prop 97 passed with 54 percent of the vote and a 628,000-vote majority. Although it carried only 17 of the state's 58 counties, it gained a 450,000-vote edge in Los Angeles.

Proposition 98, sponsored by the California Teachers' Association and state schools' chief Bill Honig, led by a slim 135,000 votes out of over 9 million cast but with more than 400,000 absentee ballots yet to be counted. If the result stands, Prop 98 would amend the state constitution to establish a minimum level of funding for the state's elementary and secondary schools and junior colleges (K-14). Prop 98 was controversial because it could potentially take money away from other state programs to fund K-14 schools. The measure won in only 11 counties, but that included Los Angeles which gave it a 230,000-vote majority. Alameda provided a 90,000-vote margin, and San Francisco another 70,000 votes. By contrast, Prop 98 lost in conservative Orange County by nearly 95,000 votes.

On the eve of the election, there were fears that the sheer number of propositions on the ballot, 29, plus the massive amounts of publicity for and against the insurance and tobacco initiatives, had created so much confusion and negativism that voters would give up before voting on the last, critical initiatives. Those fears proved groundless. The fall-off between the vote for president (9.3 million) and for Proposition 106 (9.05 million) was under 3 percent. The fall-off on other initiatives was substantially less.

CONGRESS

The state's congressional races can be summed up in two words: Phil Burton. The late congressman is the architect of the reapportionment plan that created the present congressional districts and gave Democrats some five seats more than they might otherwise hold. Since Burton's restructuring of the state early in this decade, the congressional delegation has been remarkably stable with incumbents, barring some horrendous mistake, being virtually assured of reelection.

Aside from one close scare, this year was no different. Despite the fact that there were three open seats in November, each district will remain in the hands of the party that held it at the start of the election season. The delegation will remain split 27-18 in favor of Democrats.

The closest of the elections was in the 19th District along the coast in Santa Barbara and Ventura counties where Democratic state Senator Gary Hart challenged incumbent Republican Robert Lagomarsino. This is President Reagan's home district and the battle over its representation took on special significance. An expensive campaign was waged, and the choice between the two men was clear. In the end, the voters split almost down the middle, but Lagomarsino eked out a 2300-vote victory.

One of the open seats was created in the 12th District when Stanford professor Tom Campbell beat Republican incumbent Ernie Konnyu in the primary. Democrats had felt Konnyu, whose blunt ways where apparently a little too rough for this Silicon Valley district, would be vulnerable to attack. They offered San Mateo County Supervisor Anna Eshoo as their candidate. But when Konnyu was beat, they lost their best chance at the district, and Campbell won by nearly 5 percentage points.

The contests weren't even close in the other two open seats. Both of these were in the heart of Republican Orange County, one created by the retirement of Robert Badham and the other when Dan Lungren gave up the seat in a futile effort to become state treasurer. These contests (districts 40 and 42) were over in the primary, both being won by former White House aides with the support of former Colonel Oliver North.

In addition, Republicans made at least token efforts to unseat two incumbents in somewhat marginal districts. For the fourth time, they ran John Paul Stark against liberal George Brown in the 36th District of Riverside and San Bernardino counties, with the same re-

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sult they've had the first three times. And in the San Diego area, they got an unexpected shot at unseating Jim Bates after stories appeared in a Washington newspaper about Bates making sexual remarks and advances to female staffers. But once again, reapportionment turned out to be stronger than scandal, and Bates was reelected in the 44th District with nearly 60 percent of the vote.

DISTRICT 1 (56% D - 33% R)

Bosco (D*)	**150,714**	**(63%)**
Vanderbilt (R)	67,507	(28%)
Fried (P&F)	20,960	(9%)

Incumbents always have to be a little wary along the state's north coast, where political factions are nearly as numerous as redwoods. Six-year veteran Doug Bosco had to beat three primary challengers in June, which he managed with no more trouble than he had beating Clear Lake Republican Mark Vanderbilt in the general.

DISTRICT 2 (46% D - 43% R)

Meyer (D)	89,616	(39%)
Herger (R*)	**136,426**	**(59%)**
Pendery (L)	6,118	(3%)

There are some in this sprawling district in California's northeast corner who feel that Wally Herger just isn't, well, macho enough for this rural district of ranchers and loggers. But two years ago, when Gene Chappie retired, Herger defeated a big field of Republicans to win his party's nomination. Then he beat popular Shasta County Supervisor Steve Swendiman in the general election. This year a real rancher, Wayne Meyer, thought he might be able to beat Herger. But he apparently couldn't convince enough other people and, short of the massive bankroll he would need, Meyer's campaign never got off the ground. He ended up with about the same percentage of the vote as Swendiman. Next time, we suspect the Democrats will leave Herger, macho or not, alone.

Key to symbols:

D = Democratic
R = Republican
AIP = American Independent Party
L = Libertarian
P&F = Peace and Freedom
* = Incumbent
(%) = vote percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number, accounting for the fact that some races generated more than 100 percent of the vote.

Results reported in these analyses are those that were available from the secretary of state's office on November 9, 1988, and include ballots cast on election day but omit more than 400,000 absentee ballots. Thus, vote totals for various races could change before the vote is officially certified in mid December. In some cases, notably the 63rd Assembly District, the change could affect the outcome of an election.

DISTRICT 3 (56% D - 35% R)

Matsui (D*)	**175,112**	**(71%)**
Landowski (R)	70,723	(29%)

Bob Matsui better watch out. Republican Lowell Landowski is gaining on him. Two years ago, Landowski only had 25 percent of the vote. At this rate, in 14 years, it'll be bye-bye Bob.

DISTRICT 4 (53% D - 35% R)

Fazio (D*)	**174,436**	**(100%)**

A free ride for Fazio, who is one of the California delegation's most respected members.

DISTRICT 5 (65% D - 19% R)

Pelosi (D*)	**113,838**	**(78%)**
O'Neill (R)	26,303	(18%)
Grove (L)	3,124	(2%)
Zuur (P&F)	3,587	(2%)

This is the Burton seat, the San Francisco home base for the legendary Phil Burton, who carved up the state's congressional districts to guarantee that Democrats would dominate the delegation during the '80s. It went to his widow, Sala, upon his death and to long-time Democratic activist Nancy Pelosi when Sala died in 1987. This will be Pelosi's first full term in the House.

DISTRICT 6 (59% D - 27% R)

Boxer (D*)	**160,805**	**(74%)**
Steinmetz (R)	57,044	(26%)

The editorial clout of the San Francisco Chronicle *was amply demonstrated in this race. They endorsed William Steinmetz.*

DISTRICT 7 (55% D - 34% R)

Miller (D*)	**158,451**	**(69%)**
Last (R)	71,631	(31%)

Contra Costa County's Democrats, who voted for Ronald Reagan four years ago, came home this year, giving their support to Michael Dukakis and, in even bigger numbers, to eight-term incumbent George Miller.

DISTRICT 8 (64% D - 24% R)

Dellums (D*)	**152,380**	**(67%)**
Cuddihy Jr. (R)	69,412	(31%)
Condit (P&F)	5,049	(2%)

Liberal Ron Dellums rolled up one of his biggest margins yet to win his 10th term in Congress.

DISTRICT 9 (59% D - 30% R)

Stark (D*)	**145,917**	**(73%)**
Hertz (R)	53,797	(27%)

Pete Stark usually settles for 70 percent of the vote. This time he did better.

DISTRICT 10 (58% D - 29% R)

Edwards (D*)	**132,732**	**(86%)**
Watson (L)	21,225	(14%)

Republicans don't even bother to run against Don Edwards, who has represented this district for 26 years.

DISTRICT 11 (55% D - 32% R)

Lantos (D*)	**138,579**	**(71%)**
Quraishi (R)	47,032	(24%)
Kudrovzeff (AIP)	1,903	(1%)
Wade (L)	4,586	(2%)
Martinez (P&F)	2,804	(1%)

It was a repeat performance for Republican Bill Quraishi. He cut Lantos' victory margin from 74 percent of the vote two years ago. But then, there were no third party candidates that year and Quraishi's own margin dropped from 26 percent.

DISTRICT 12 (45% D - 42% R)

Eshoo (D)	112,442	(46%)
Campbell (R)	**124,151**	**(51%)**
Grey (L)	5,535	(2%)

Republican Tom Campbell, a Stanford University professor, turned this into an open seat by beating incumbent Ernie Konnyu in the primary. The blunt-spoken Konnyu was apparently a little rough around the edges and too conservative for this genteel Silicon

T. Campbell

Valley district that has been represented by GOP congressmen such as Ed Zschau and Pete McCloskey. Campbell trashed Konnyu, making him the only incumbent congressman to lose a primary. That disappointed Democrats, who felt they might be able to beat the incumbent with San Mateo County Supervisor Anna Eshoo. They gave the race their best anyway, with Eshoo at one point managing to raise more money than Campbell. But in the end, the district was comfortable with the soft-spoken, cerebral Campbell, who fit nicely into the pattern cut out by the Republicans who preceded Konnyu.

DISTRICT 13 (49% D - 38% R)

Mineta (D*)	**132,802**	**(67%)**
Sommer (R)	58,706	(30%)
Webster (L)	6,062	(3%)

Democratic registration has slipped below 50 percent in this San Jose centered district. But it will not fall to that party until Norman Mineta wants to give it up. And, with six terms to his credit, there are no signs of that happening.

DISTRICT 14 (47% D - 43% R)

Malberg (D)	100,442	(38%)
Shumway (R*)	**167,478**	**(63%)**

Patricia Malberg ran a spirited campaign against five-term incumbent Norman Shumway. Without outside help she raised a lot of money and hammered at Shumway as too conservative for this Sierra foothills district. She managed to cut 10 percent off the incumbent's winning margin. But that still left her 67,000 votes behind.

DISTRICT 15 (55% D - 36% R)

Coelho (D*)	**111,771**	**(70%)**
Harner (R)	45,479	(28%)
Harris (L)	3,408	(2%)

This is the second time in a row House Minority Whip Tony Coelho has managed to win 70 percent of the vote against rancher Carol Harner. Fresno voters must see some advantage in being represented by the third most powerful member of the House.

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DISTRICT 16 (53% D - 35% R)

Panetta (D*)	**168,506**	**(79%)**
Monteith (R)	45,711	(21%)

Leon Panetta becomes chairman of the House Budget Committee when the new Congress convenes. Voters in this marginal district apparently appreciate that fact, once again giving the incumbent close to 80 percent of the vote.

DISTRICT 17 (49% D - 42% R)

Lavery (D)	49,345	(29%)
Pashayan (R*)	**122,253**	**(71%)**

Republican Chip Pashayan had an easy time of it this year. Two years ago he had to run against an aide to neighboring Congressman Rick Lehman. Even then, he got 60 percent of the vote.

DISTRICT 18 (60% D - 32% R)

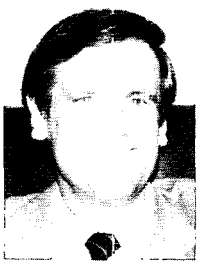
Lehman (D*)	**120,448**	**(70%)**
Linn (R)	51,807	(30%)

Incumbent Lehman has found a safe haven in this district, the most Democratic in the central valley.

DISTRICT 19 (46% D - 41% R)

Hart (D)	105,981	(49%)
Lagomarsino (R*)	**108,257**	**(50%)**
Donaldson (L)	2,700	(1%)

This was a real bruiser of a contest. State Senator Gary Hart, attractive and intelligent, decided he was tired of waiting for 14-year incumbent Bob Lagomarsino to retire. With a free ride, he took on the Republican in Ronald Reagan's home county. Aside from the question of off-shore oil drilling, which both men oppose, the choice between the two contenders was clear. Hart is an unrepentant, if not lock-step, liberal, and Lagomarsino a usually faithful follower of



Hart

Lagomarsino

the Reagan approach. Millions were spent and district voters ended up splitting down the middle with fewer than 2300 votes — in Lagomarsino's favor — separating them. In the end, they will be able to keep both men as representatives. Which may be what they wanted in the first place.

DISTRICT 20 (42% D - 48% R)

Reid (D)	59,454	(27%)
Thomas (R*)	**155,282**	**(71%)**
Bersohn (L)	4,006	(2%)

Republican William Thomas had no trouble winning his sixth term in Congress.

DISTRICT 21 (37% D - 53% R)

Stevens (D)	72,059	(29%)
Gallegly (R*)	**171,073**	**(69%)**
Jay (L)	5,233	(2%)

If first-termer Elton Gallegly was going to have trouble, it would have been in the primary, where he drew two Republican opponents. He won easily then, and easily in November.

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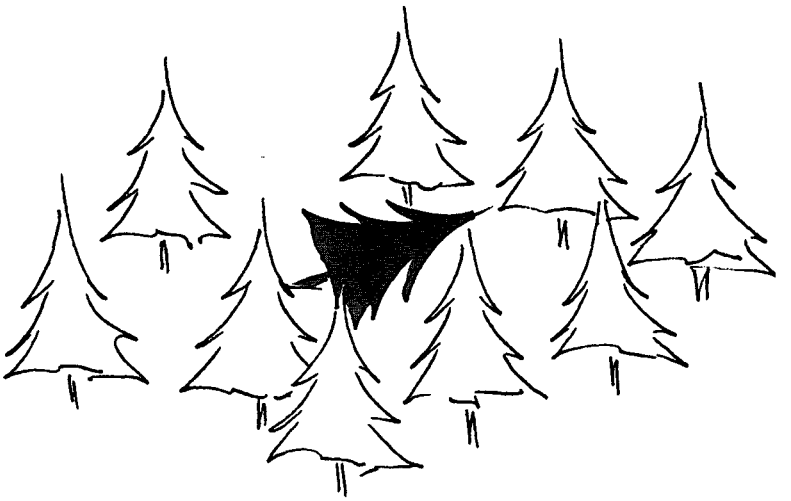

A tree falls in the forest

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DISTRICT 22 (35% D - 55% R)

Simmons (D)	58,904	(26%)
Moorhead (R*)	**155,966**	**(69%)**
Brown (L)	4,053	(2%)
Isaacson (P&F)	6,036	(3%)

What's going on in Glendale? Newt Russell slips below 70 percent in the Senate district located there. Pat Nolan drops a few points, too, for more obvious reasons. Now even Carlos Moorhead is well below his usual 75 to 85 percent of the vote. Are there closet Democrats there?

DISTRICT 23 (54% D - 37% R)

Beilenson (D*)	**140,189**	**(64%)**
Salomon (R)	72,888	(33%)
Vernon (L)	4,282	(2%)
Honigsfeld (P&F)	3,146	(1%)

Another district where Republicans look at the registration and think they might have a chance. But the well-to-do residents on the west side of Los Angeles and the San Fernando Valley are content with incumbent Tony Beilenson.

DISTRICT 24 (60% D - 28% R)

Waxman (D*)	**106,828**	**(73%)**
Cowles (R)	34,723	(24%)
Abrahams (L)	2,518	(2%)
Green (P&F)	3,378	(3%)

Henry Waxman is secure here. That gives him time to turn his attention to others in his "machine" who are in greater need of electoral help.

DISTRICT 25 (68% D - 21% R)

Roybal (D*)	**80,425**	**(86%)**
Thie (L)	5,385	(6%)
Reyes (P&F)	8,300	(9%)

Republicans didn't even bother to challenge 26-year veteran Ed Roybal.

DISTRICT 26 (57% D - 34% R)

Berman (D*)	**121,404**	**(71%)**
Broderson (R)	50,821	(30%)

Howard Berman just seems to get stronger in this westside Los Angeles district.

DISTRICT 27 (54% D - 34% R)

Levine (D*)	**141,396**	**(68%)**
Galbraith (R)	61,737	(30%)
Fulco (L)	5,864	(3%)

Now that Mel Levine doesn't have to run against a former LA Ram, life's become much easier.

DISTRICT 28 (73% D - 19% R)

Dixon (D*)	**104,920**	**(76%)**
Adams (R)	26,944	(20%)
Johnson (L)	2,977	(2%)
Honigsfeld (P&F)	2,696	(2%)

Julian Dixon represents the district with the second highest Democratic registration in the state, and he manages to run ahead of it.

DISTRICT 29 (83% D - 11% R)

Hawkins (D*)	**85,338**	**(83%)**
Franco (R)	13,828	(14%)
Gilmore (L)	3,620	(4%)

The most Democratic district in the state belongs to 81-year-old Gus Hawkins, who shows no interest in abandoning it after 26 years.

DISTRICT 30 (59% D - 31% R)

Martinez (D*)	**69,065**	**(60%)**
Ramirez (R)	41,558	(36%)
Myers (AIP)	2,590	(2%)
Goldsworthy (L)	1,776	(2%)

Matthew Martinez is not the state's most dynamic representative, a fact that has resulted in him having repeated tough times winning reelection. This time he first had to hold off a primary challenge from Monterey Park's Lily Chen before he could beat businessman Ralph Ramirez in the runoff. Fortunately for Martinez, he has the help of the Waxman-Berman political operation.

DISTRICT 31 (72% D - 20% R)

Dymally (D*)	**97,518**	**(72%)**
May (R)	34,435	(25%)
Duren (P&F)	3,958	(3%)

Mervin Dymally had no trouble winning a fifth term.

DISTRICT 32 (56% D - 35% R)

Anderson (D*)	**109,068**	**(67%)**
Kahn (R)	47,981	(30%)
Denny (L)	1,849	(1%)
Murdock (P&F)	3,855	(2%)

Republicans continue to add voters in this district, but it will be awhile before they can mount a real challenge to popular Glen Anderson.

DISTRICT 33 (42% D - 48% R)

Gentry (D)	55,519	(26%)
Dreier (R*)	**145,071**	**(69%)**
Lightfoot (L)	6,389	(3%)
Noonan (P&F)	3,359	(2%)

Dreier started the campaign season sitting on a $1 million warchest. He didn't need any of it to beat Democrat Nelson Gentry, so it's still available for something else, say a run for statewide office should Dreier be so inclined.

DISTRICT 34 (61% D - 30% R)

Torres (D*)	**88,103**	**(63%)**
House (R)	48,641	(35%)
Swinney (L)	2,573	(2%)

Esteban Torres did a little better this time in his second win over sheriff's sergeant Charles House.

DISTRICT 35 (38% D - 52% R)

Sweeney (D)	69,335	(28%)
Lewis (R*)	**175,873**	**(70%)**
Shuman (L)	4,713	(2%)

Five-term incumbent Jerry Lewis has given up aspirations for statewide office and is concentrating on his work in the House, where he is one of the most influential members of the state's Republican caucus.

DISTRICT 36 (53% D - 38% R)

Brown Jr. (D*)	**100,559**	**(54%)**
Stark (R)	78,737	(42%)
Anderson (AIP)	3,272	(2%)
Valentine (L)	3,308	(2%)

This is the fourth time 24-year incumbent George Brown Jr. has beaten Republican John Paul Stark. The first three times, Stark emphasized his fundamentalist Christian beliefs. This time, Republicans repositioned him as a more mainstream conservative. It helped some, but the liberal Brown managed to survive in a district that is changing rapidly.

Stark

G. Brown

DISTRICT 37 (43% D - 48% R)

Pearson (D)	85,333	(33%)
McCandless (R*)	**163,698**	**(64%)**
Flickinger (L)	6,771	(3%)

In order to provide a safe home for George Brown, all of Riverside County's Republicans were given to Al McCandless.

DISTRICT 38 (49% D - 42% R)

Yudelson (D)	49,421	(35%)
Dornan (R*)	**83,063**	**(60%)**
McKay (L)	3,563	(3%)
German (P&F)	3,383	(2%)

Things went a little easier for "B1" Bob Dornan this time. Two years ago, he had to face then-Assemblyman Richard Robinson in a bruising, million-dollar campaign. But this year, he had enough time to do a little campaigning for President-elect George Bush and there is lots of talk he may get a post in the new administration as a reward.

DISTRICT 39 (33% D - 57% R)

Marquis (D)	49,895	(23%)
Dannemeyer (R*)	**161,568**	**(74%)**
Connelly (L)	7,174	(3%)

Incumbent Bill Dannemeyer spent most of his time unsuccessfully trying to get his AIDS measure, Proposition 102, approved by the voters. His own constituents apparently admire Dannemeyer's forays into state politics, which have also included his running for the U. S. Senate with a stuffed turkey as his campaign mascot.

DISTRICT 40 (30% D - 59% R)

Lenney (D)	76,367	(30%)
Cox (R)	**170,640**	**(67%)**
Bloxham (L)	4,317	(2%)
Farsai (P&F)	3,549	(1%)

The real contest here took place in the primary when Christopher Cox, with the help of former Colonel Oliver North, bested a 14-person field to win the Republican nomination in the district, which was left open by the retirement of Bob Badham. Now Cox, a former White House aide, should be able to settle into a long and happy tenure in this very Republican district.

DISTRICT 41 (38% D - 48% R)

Kripke (D)	81,836	(31%)
Lowery (R*)	**172,831**	**(66%)**
Rider (L)	4,891	(2%)
Weber (P&F)	4,462	(2%)

Bill Lowery represents most of the Republicans in San Diego.

DISTRICT 42 (36% D - 53% R)

Kimbrough (D)	74,745	(33%)
Rohrabacher (R)	**144,017**	**(64%)**
Rose (P&F)	6,309	(3%)

This was another seat that was decided in the primary, and it was another victory for Ollie North, who helped former White House aide Dana Rohrabacher win over a field of eight Republicans, including Orange County Supervisor Harriet Wieder. The former occupant of this seat, Dan Lungren, left because he thought he was

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Rohrabacher

Cox

going to be state Treasurer. He was turned down by the Senate, though, and now he's practicing law in Sacramento, waiting to see about a run for statewide office or a call from George Bush. Rohrabacher, meanwhile, will be around in Congress just about as long as he wants.

DISTRICT 43 (30% D - 56% R)

Greenebaum (D)	67,951	(26%)
Packard (R*)	**188,826**	**(72%)**
Muhe (L)	7,014	(3%)

A predictable victory for Ron Packard.

DISTRICT 44 (55% D - 32% R)

Bates (D*)	**85,315**	**(60%)**
Butterfield (R)	51,646	(36%)
Thompson (L)	5,381	(4%)

Despite a slipping registrations margin, at the start of this election season, six-year incumbent Jim Bates expected few problems winning reelection. But then Roll Call, *a newspaper that circulates at the U. S. Capitol, printed charges that Bates had made sexual advances and remarks toward women staffers. Bates said the charges were overblown, but apologized. His opponent, San Diego attorney Rob Butterfield, made the most of it. Still, Bates survives, although he surely will be an inviting target in two years.*

DISTRICT 45 (37% D - 49% R)

Lepiscopo (D)	50,414	(24%)
Hunter (R*)	**154,132**	**(74%)**
Willis (L)	4,105	(2%)

Another easy win for Duncan Hunter, who will start his fourth term in Congress.

SENATE

Despite spending millions of campaign dollars, the California Senate will look remarkably the same as last year for the upcoming session. Democrats will still have 24 members, Republicans 15, with the remaining seat held by independent Quentin Kopp. Only two new senators were elected, in each case Republicans replacing Republicans in impregnable GOP districts.

In fact, reapportionment and incumbency have so solidly entrenched most incumbent senators that only one contest, in Cecil Green's 33rd District along the Orange-Los Angeles county line, was truly up for grabs. This time around, Green beat Cerritos Councilman Dan Knabe with just 50.8 percent of the vote. Green last year won a special election for the district, which became vacant when Paul Carpenter won election to the state Board of Equalization in 1986. Knabe wanted to run the first time, too, but party leaders, including Governor George Deukmejian, talked him out of it in the interest of party harmony. Now Green will have four full years to make his district secure.

Of course, with all those campaign dollars available, they had to be spent somewhere, so a spirited run was made at Republican John Doolittle and a somewhat less-interesting one at Democrat Henry Mello. In each case, the incumbent was triumphant. Trying to beat the conservative Doolittle is a labor of love for Democrats. After all, he's the young upstart who beat revered Democrat Al Rodda 10 years ago, and he has managed to hang onto his seat despite reapportionment and being once beaten by Senator Leroy Green. But a strange thing happened in this contest: Senate President pro Tem David Roberti took a walk. Although other Democrats helped challenger Roy Whiteaker, substantial Roberti help was absent. Roberti aides claimed that Roberti's money was needed elsewhere, first to prop up Dan Boatwright in his primary fight against Sunne McPeak and then to save Cecil Green. But Roberti also failed to push other Senate Democrats, some of whom sit on substantial pots of campaign money, to aide Whiteaker, giving rise to speculation that there might be some unspoken understanding between Roberti and Doolittle, who is the Republican caucus chairman in the Senate.

Whatever the motives, all this electoral stability will no doubt be mirrored in the Senate's internal leadership, where Democrat Roberti and Republican Ken Maddy will both most likely retain their leadership positions. Indeed, with the Assembly divided into factions, the role of the Senate leadership will probably be greater than ever. It may have been with that in mind that Roberti sought to minimize internal Senate dissent by moderating the attack on Doolittle.

DISTRICT 1 (46% D - 43% R)

Whiteaker (D)	134,373	(46%)
Doolittle (R*)	**158,202**	**(54%)**

It's doubtful that Democrats will ever give John Doolittle any peace. The eight-year incumbent from the 1st District, which covers the rural northeast part of the state and dips into Sacramento County in order to pick up Doolittle's home, is just too conservative for Democratic sensibilities, and Doolittle is

Doolittle

just a trifle too willing to take aim, unfairly according to his detractors, at Democratic sacred cows. So they spent in the neighborhood of $750,000 — an amount some Democratic senators complained was too little — backing Yuba County Sheriff Roy Whiteaker, whom they figured no one could attack as not conservative enough. But Doolittle tabbed him the "liberal sheriff," and Whiteaker came up 24,000 votes short. There are just too many Republicans in the district and they seem satisfied with Doolittle's style of representation. Doolittle's comfortable victory — he was certain enough of a win to cut down on his television spots in the campaign's closing days — now frees him to think about a run for statewide office.

DISTRICT 3 (59% D - 25% R)

Marks (D*)	**146,755**	**(66%)**
Marshall (R)	66,429	(30%)
Pickens (L)	3,645	(2%)
Rodriguez (P&F)	4,319	(2%)

This was the first time that Milton Marks has run as a Democrat, and it has to be something of a disappointment for him. After all, he only managed to win 66 percent of the vote in a district where Republicans number only 25 percent of the electorate. As a Republican four years ago, Marks managed to win 68 percent of the vote. Perhaps he should get out an attend a few more community functions?

DISTRICT 5 (54% D - 36% R)

Garamendi (D*)	**177,612**	**(69%)**
Lawrence (R)	79,333	(31%)

Republicans murmured about how they just might take a hard look at John Garamendi's Gold Rush-area district. In the end, they turned their glances elsewhere, and that gave the 12-year incumbent his fourth term in the Senate.

DISTRICT 7 (53% D - 35% R)

Boatwright (D*)	**161,187**	**(63%)**
Pollacek (R)	94,856	(37%)

The only worry that Dan Boatwright had was in the primary, where he defeated — in a very expensive campaign — the challenge of Contra Costa County Supervisor Sunne McPeak. Republicans had some thoughts that the primary battle might give them an opening to defeat Boatwright in a district that has only a marginal Democratic registration edge, but a strong campaign for Pollacek never materialized.

DISTRICT 9 (67% D - 21% R)

Petris (D*)	**174,260**	**(75%)**
Henson (R)	49,888	(21%)
Evans (P&F)	9,231	(4%)

With 30 years of representing San Francisco's East Bay under his belt, 75-percent victories are typical for Nick Petris.

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DISTRICT 11 (46% D - 41% R)

Nolan (D)	94,668	(36%)
Morgan (R*)	**159,118**	**(61%)**
Olson (L)	8,206	(3%)

Becky Morgan was a freshman in the Senate. That alone should have made her fair game for a Democratic challenge. But Morgan has worked hard during her first term and earned good reviews from her legislative colleagues. She initially drew only token opposition from Robert Mack Jr., a former Santa Clara County Democratic chairman. But Mack died less than a month after the primary, and the county committees from San Mateo and Santa Clara counties selected San Mateo County Supervisor Tom Nolan to replace him. But Nolan, too, never ran much of a campaign, and Morgan easily won her second term in the Senate.

DISTRICT 13 (54% D - 32% R)

Alquist (D*)	**122,625**	**(65%)**
Bertolet (R)	59,405	(31%)
Inks (L)	7,150	(4%)

The Republicans did some late-August chest-beating about how they just might try to take out 80-year-old Al Alquist. Alquist snorted once or twice, flexed his money-raising muscle as chairman of the Senate Budget Committee and stomped on challenger Dan Bertolet of Mountain View.

DISTRICT 15 (51% D - 40% R)

Vuich (D*)	**165,484**	**(100%)**

The first woman elected to the state Senate remains the senior woman in the Senate. Republicans will first have to find an opponent if they expect, in their wildest imaginations, to one day beat her.

DISTRICT 17 (54% D - 33% R)

Mello (D*)	**160,143**	**(71%)**
Damkar (R)	64,877	(29%)

Republicans thought they had a live one in San Benito District Attorney Harry Damkar. Mello is the skittish type and, even if they couldn't win, Republicans hoped they could keep Rules Committee member Mello from helping other Democrats. Republican arch-conservative H. L. Richardson even contributed a video production to the effort. They may have succeeded in keeping Mello at home, but that only resulted in his getting a higher percentage of the vote than he did four years ago against token opposition. Mello even got 60 percent of the vote in Damkar's home county.

DISTRICT 19 (37% D - 53% R)

Martin (D)	71,124	(25%)
Davis (R*)	**203,782**	**(72%)**
Starr (L)	8,026	(3%)

Ed Davis collected more than 200,000 votes to win his third Senate term. No one's done that in a legislative or congressional race since Clair Burgener beat Ku Klux Klan member Tom Metzger in 1980.

DISTRICT 21 (35% D - 56% R)

Gelber (D)	74,109	(28%)
Russell (R*)	**178,977**	**(68%)**
Scott (L)	4,948	(2%)
Blumenthal (P&F)	3,622	(1%)

What's wrong with Newt Russell? He only got 68 percent of the vote. That's serious slippage for a guy who managed 75 percent of the vote four years ago.

DISTRICT 23 (59% D - 29% R)

Roberti (D*)	**113,822**	**(68%)**
Larkin (R)	44,150	(26%)
Foster (L)	4,648	(3%)
Nakano (P&F)	5,260	(3%)

Republicans have no hope of winning this Hollywood-based district. In fact, Senate President pro Tem David Roberti's only fear was that he might be challenged from within his own party. Feminist lawyer Gloria Allred talked about a possible run from Roberti's left, but thought better of it. Roberti can now settle into his 23rd year in the Legislature and the possibility that, with a fractionalized Assembly, he now may be the state's second most powerful politician.

DISTRICT 25 (38% D - 52% R)

Hester (D)	94,865	(34%)
Leonard (R)	**184,438**	**(66%)**

This San Bernardino County-based desert district used to belong to the Legislature's most famous conservative, H.L. Richardson, who finally retired after 22 years. College administrator Sandy Hester made a spirited, if low-budget attempt on behalf of the

Leonard

Democrats, but Assemblyman William Leonard of Redlands managed to collect even more of the vote than Richardson in winning his first term. His victory margins will probably only get bigger.

DISTRICT 27 (85% D - 9% R)

Greene (D*)	**95,386**	**(87%)**
Neely (R)	10,480	(10%)
Artz (P&F)	3,295	(3%)

The fact that Bill Greene got 10,000 fewer votes this year than four years ago, when he also beat Johnnie Neely, is more a reflection of Michael Dukakis' appeal to Black voters than it is of Greene's popularity in his own district.

DISTRICT 29 (41% D - 48% R)

Hachmeister (D)	73,687	(30%)
Beverly (R*)	**168,047**	**(67%)**
Kelley (L)	8,341	(3%)

Citizens in this coastal Los Angeles County district will be content with Bob Beverly for the next four years.

DISTRICT 31 (36% D - 54% R)

Graham (D)	85,953	(31%)
Campbell (R*)	**189,463**	**(69%)**

Bill Campbell wanted to be state controller. He lost. Then he wanted to be state treasurer. He lost that appointment — twice. So, it's got to be satisfying to him that the voters in his Senate district still love him.

DISTRICT 33 (52% D - 40% R)

Green (D*)	**98,585**	**(51%)**
Knabe (R)	95,652	(49%)

It was only 18 months ago that Cecil Green won a special election over Assemblyman Wayne Grisham for this Senate district that straddles the Los Angeles-Orange County line. That election set all kinds of spending records, some $3 million by both candidates, including the cost of election-day donuts. This time Green faced, and beat, Cerritos Councilman Don Knabe, who many thought should have been the candidate the

C. Green

Knabe

first time around. More millions were spent here, in one of the truly competitive districts in the state. But Green can take some consolation in the fact that he'll never have to run in this district again, since new district lines will be drawn when his term is up in four years.

DISTRICT 35 (33% D - 56% R)

Balmages (D)	53,360	(22%)
Seymour (R*)	**177,056**	**(74%)**
Quirk (P&F)	7,944	(3%)

There are Democrats deep in the heart of Orange County. But many of them voted for John Seymour, too. Now he is free to think about the possibility of running for statewide office.

DISTRICT 37 (34% D - 56% R)

McCabe (D)	73,729	(27%)
Bergeson (R*)	**197,451**	**(71%)**
Sugars (L)	6,430	(2%)

Earlier this year Marian Bergeson decided she did not want to run for Congress. Her Orange County constituents appreciated her commitment to state issues and returned her handily to the Senate.

DISTRICT 39 (38% D - 49% R)

Berkson (D)	67,848	(27%)
Stirling (R)	**175,828**	**(69%)**
Hall (L)	10,582	(4%)

Larry Stirling is a man of even temperament and moderation. He will probably be much

Stirling

happier in the Senate than he was with the partisan rough-and-tumble of the Assembly. And this district, which had been represented until this year by the now-retired Jim Ellis, will provide him with a congenial base.

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ASSEMBLY

Throughout the 1980s, Assembly Republicans have had one overriding goal — to capture control of the 80-member lower house in 1990 and thus dictate the reapportionment due after the 1990 census. They made dramatic progress toward that goal in 1986 by paring the Democrats' 47-33 advantage to 44-36. But the current election saw the trend reversed. It was the Democrats who picked up two seats (three, depending on the outcome of an almost certain recount in the 63rd District).

As with any election, there were mega-winners and mega-losers.

The mega-winner was Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. Buoyed by the gain of two, perhaps three loyal Democratic seats, Brown solidified his hold on a speakership that had appeared wobbly throughout 1988. With 79 members returning for the start of the new session, Brown has the 40-vote majority necessary to retain his office. (One member, Curtis Tucker of Los Angeles, died during the campaign and will be replaced in a special election early in 1989. Tucker's district, the 50th, is overwhelmingly Democratic, and Brown has already announced support for Tucker's son, who will try to succeed his father.)

As Brown's fortunes rebounded, those of Assembly Minority Leader Pat Nolan collapsed. All last year, Nolan was under pressure from members of his caucus to help dissident Gang-of-Five Democrats dump Brown as speaker. Nolan stood by Brown, exacerbating simmering disputes within the GOP caucus. As though those internal problems weren't enough, last August, Nolan and one of his lieutenants — Assemblyman Frank Hill — were among a handful of legislators whose offices were raided by the FBI in connection with an investigation into influence peddling. A month later, Nolan and members of his staff were rebuked by the Sacramento County district attorney for forging President Ronald Reagan's signature on a 1986 campaign letter, then lying to investigators about their role in the affair.

With his leadership tottering, the election finished Nolan. GOP incumbent Paul Zeltner lost to Willard Murray in the 54th District. Another incumbent, Wayne Grisham, came so close to losing the 63rd District that the final results will not be known until after a recount in December (at press time, Grisham was leading challenger Bob Epple by nine votes, with more absentee ballots yet to be counted).

Finally, Republicans suffered a stunning defeat in the 20th District, located in the Silicon Valley south of San Francisco. Long a Republican bastion, the 20th was once represented by state GOP chairman Bob Naylor — the man Nolan ousted to become minority leader back in 1984. The incumbent, Assemblyman Bill Duplissea, was seeking his first reelection, and his loss to 27-year-old Ted Lempert shook Assembly Republicans to the core. Even more remarkable (or stunning for the GOP), Lempert accomplished the upset without much help from Assembly Democrats. His campaign was fueled by a personal grassroots effort that saw Lempert and members of his family walk every precinct in the district at least twice from May through the November election. Assembly Democrats did not enter the fray until late October when private polls showed Lempert within striking distance of the incumbent.

Duplissea's loss wasn't the nail, or the horseshoe, or even the horse. But combined with other events, it helped crumbled Nolan's empire. As Willie Brown presided over a press conference and chided those (including this publication) who had predicted his demise, Pat Nolan resigned as minority leader. He was replaced by one of his allies, Assemblyman Ross Johnson.

What went wrong for Republicans? Perhaps they spread themselves too thin. For instance, the GOP chewed up a lot of money and resources trying to unseat two popular Democrats in relatively safe districts — Phil Isenberg in the 10th and Dom Cortese in the 24th. They spent a fortune trying to save Grisham in the 63rd and, eventually, Duplissea in the 20th. They spent another fortune in an abortive attempt to oust Norm Waters in the 7th District.

Finally, although most Republicans claim otherwise, the party could not help but be distracted by the FBI investigation that crashed down upon Pat Nolan and his lieutenants just as the campaign was getting underway. It cut into Nolan's ability to raise funds and placed the entire caucus under a cloud that contributed, in part, to Duplissea's defeat.

Still, Republicans may be able to look upon their 1988 spending spree as an investment toward 1990. In the 7th District, Republicans came perilously close to unseating a veteran Democrat — Waters. A similar effort could succeed two years hence. The same rationale might apply to Cortese.

As for the Assembly's other loser this November, the Gang of Five claimed solidarity, and Gang members attending a caucus organizational meeting the day after the election abstained rather than vote for Brown as speaker. But with Brown in firmer control of the Assembly than at any time since late 1986, the Gang's options seem limited. There were even rumors that one Fiver — Jerry Eaves — would reconcile with the speaker, whose allies contributed to Eaves' warchest in a hard-fought election campaign.

In 1988 the Assembly had ceased to exist as an effective legislative body. Internecine warfare flared in both caucuses. Willie Brown's task is to reweld the lower house into a functional unit. Ironically, although the election allowed the speaker to reassert his control, he may be forced to give ground on reforms, thus weakening the speakership overall.

DISTRICT 1 (48% D - 41% R)

Caudle (D)	40,570	(30%)
Statham (R*)	**93,969**	**(70%)**

Arlie Caudle closed in on Stan Statham this year, cutting the incumbent's victory margin from 42 percent to 40 percent. At that rate, he should unseat Statham in 2010.

DISTRICT 2 (57% D - 31% R)

Hauser (D*)	**99,456**	**(75%)**
King (R)	33,359	(25%)

There are four counties in this northern coastal district. Dan Hauser, in his most impressive victory to date, carried each of them by a three-to-one margin.

DISTRICT 3 (44% D - 44% R)

Conklin (D)	47,285	(37%)
Chandler (R*)	**77,687**	**(60%)**
Sweany (L)	3,970	(3%)

This district, which resembles a Picassoesque eagle, sprawls from the Nevada border west to Lake County. It is rural, rugged and Republican. Chandler, who returns to Sacramento for his sophomore term, is neither rural nor rugged but can represent it forever.

DISTRICT 4 (55% D - 32% R)

Hannigan (D*)	**84,737**	**(67%)**
Ford (R)	41,137	(33%)

Hannigan should have an easier time being Assembly majority leader now that Willie Brown seems to have solidified his hold on the speakership.

DISTRICT 5 (49% D - 41% R)

Byouk (D)	62,047	(41%)
Leslie (R*)	**89,051**	**(59%)**

This was supposed to be the Sacramento-area donnybrook, but Tim Leslie's first bid for reelection was overshadowed by noisier campaigns in neighboring districts. Leslie won easily, evidence that growth-crazy suburbs around Sacramento are following

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trends set elsewhere in California by slanting heavily Republican. Byouk wasn't helped by the fact that his money pipeline to Democratic leaders dried up in the waning days of the campaign. Ultimately, Byouk was the victim of numbers: polls showed that Democrats had a better chance for success against GOP incumbent Bill Duplissea (20th District) and so siphoned money away from Byouk to fuel the challenge to Duplissea. Byouk's bankroll was also hurt because Democrats had to pony up big bucks to save two embattled incumbents from the same area — Phil Isenberg and Norm Waters. In the end, Byouk was outspent by about $100,000. With Democratic registration now under 50 percent, this should be Leslie's last serious challenge.

DISTRICT 6 (56% D - 35% R)

Connelly (D*)	**77,375**	**(61%)**
Gates (R)	48,849	(39%)

The quiet side of Sacramento.

DISTRICT 7 (50% D - 40% R)

N. Waters (D*)	**83,707**	**(50%)**
Knowles (R)	82,324	(50%)

An expensive, nasty cliffhanger that wasn't settled until a week after the election when absentee ballots finally were tallied. Waters, a moderate Democrat seeking his seventh term, was attacked by Knowles as "too liberal" for this large alpine district that sprawls east and south of Sacramento to the Nevada line. At times, Knowles seemed to be campaigning against Assembly Speaker Willie Brown rather than Waters. For his part, Waters reminded voters that, among other transgressions, Knowles had voiced support for a 1985 act of sabotage against a local abortion clinic. In the end, the two candidates, who spent more than $1 million between them, finished neck-and-neck in all eight of the district's counties. Waters won four counties, with his biggest margin — 2588 votes — coming from vote-heavy Sacramento. Knowles captured the other big county, El Dorado, by 1440 votes. Although Waters squeaked through, Democrats must be casting a wary eye on those registration numbers and anticipating another very expensive challenge in 1990.

DISTRICT 8 (53% D - 37% R)

Ketron (D)	45,134	(33%)
Hansen (R*)	**87,687**	**(64%)**
Marlow (P&F)	5,040	(4%)

Sonoma County, the biggest voting bloc in this district, went for Michael Dukakis and Leo McCarthy. It is 55 percent Democratic registration; 33 percent Republican. Bev Hansen carried two-to-one. She should represent California's premier wine-growing region for years to come.

DISTRICT 9 (53% D - 34% R)

Parnell (D)	59,836	(44%)
Filante (R*)	**75,912**	**(56%)**

A battle between doctors. Dr. Filante, one of the more moderate members of the GOP caucus, ran slightly better in 1988 than he did in 1986 and now returns for his sixth term in Sacramento.

DISTRICT 10 (57% D - 34% R)

Isenberg (D*)	**80,187**	**(57%)**
Bowler (R)	59,930	(43%)

A not-so-funny thing happened to Phil Isenberg en route to his fourth term — a mudslide. His opponent, sheriff's lieutenant Larry Bowler, sent out mailer after mailer, accusing Isenberg of: supporting police strikes, breaking into the home of a political foe, trading votes for political contributions from a local developer, being soft on crime, dirty campaigning, accepting contributions from "the drug paraphernalia industry," ad infinitum. Isenberg fired back with a blitz of indignant TV ads and mailers, defending his own record and searing Bowler with charges that the Republican was distorting the truth and had failed to vote on numerous occasions. Both sides poured trainloads of money into the campaign — over $750,000 each. Isenberg emerged a slightly frayed victor, having run 10 percent behind his 1986 tally. He actually lost San Joaquin County, although won big in Sacramento

N. Waters

Isenberg

and Contra Costa counties. Win or lose, Republicans tied Isenberg, who was supposed to help Democratic efforts in other Assembly districts, to his home turf and forced Democrats to spend money in Sacramento that could have caused mischief elsewhere.

DISTRICT 11 (64% D - 25% R)

Campbell (D*)	**80,481**	**(73%)**
Williams (R)	29,957	(27%)

The Democratic portion of Contra Costa County. Campbell's only gaffe this election season was backing the loser in his party's local state Senate primary last June. Dan Boatwright — the winner in that primary — rarely forgives and never forgets.

DISTRICT 12 (63% D - 24% R)

Bates (D*)	**103,753**	**(74%)**
Udinsky (R)	33,482	(24%)
Phillips (P&F)	3,248	(2%)

Berkeley's Tom Bates keeps rolling along.

DISTRICT 13 (73% D - 15% R)

Harris (D*)	**71,370**	**(77%)**
Mangrum (R)	18,678	(20%)
Dizon (P&F)	3,104	(3%)

Thirteen has been, and always will be, a lucky number for Elihu Harris.

DISTRICT 14 (64% D - 25% R)

Klehs (D*)	**77,364**	**(73%)**
Eaton (R)	29,050	(27%)

Johan Klehs ran behind his 1986 margin but has little to worry about.

DISTRICT 15 (37% D - 51% R)

Williams (D)	47,724	(32%)
Baker (R*)	**101,432**	**(68%)**

Bill Baker's challenge comes not from this East Bay district but in Sacramento where he was part of former GOP Minority Leader Pat Nolan's leadership team. That team lost power and influence during 1988 (see 41st District), with Nolan forced to resign as minority leader only days after the election. Just how much Baker, whose tart tongue has offended some members of his own party, will suffer remains to be seen.

DISTRICT 16 (70% D - 14% R)

Burton (D*)	**55,991**	**(78%)**
Mavrogeorge (R)	10,554	(15%)
Meyer (L)	2,031	(3%)
Ehman (P&F)	3,639	(5%)

Somehow, California politics just wouldn't be California politics without a Burton roaming through its forests.

DISTRICT 17 (64% D - 19% R)

W. Brown (D*)	**70,137**	**(72%)**
Augustine (R)	22,785	(23%)
Towers (P&F)	5,193	(5%)

Assembly Speaker Willie Brown has been in the front seat on a political roller coaster of late. Two years ago, Brown was tarnished as a political leader after Democrats lost three seats in the November elections. In March of this year he broke the late Jesse Unruh's record for the longest tenure as speaker, but had to survive repeated attempts to oust him from that speakership by dissident Democrats known as the "Gang of Five," who accused Brown of being dictatorial and out of step with California voters. Only a week before the 1988 election, Gang members boasted that they had the votes to dump Brown as speaker and replace him with one of their own. It seemed Brown's entire Assembly career was spiraling out of control. Then, an upsurge. Needing two more seats to nullify the Gang and retain his hold on the speakership, Brown gained three, including one stunning upset (20th District). He emerged from the election as the Assembly's top banana, although it remains an Assembly that is not mended. The factions that disrupted it during the latter half of 1988 are still in place, including the Gang and several clumps of disgruntled Republicans. Brown's challenge is to return the lower house to a functioning legislative unit. Although he can hold on to the state's second most powerful political post for now, he may be forced to make some changes that could ultimately weaken his power.

DISTRICT 18 (54% D - 32% R)

Eastin (D*)	**71,171**	**(67%)**
Curry (R)	34,597	(33%)

Although only beginning her second term, Delaine Eastin is already one of the Legislature's most respected members.

DISTRICT 19 (60% D - 25% R)

Speier (D*)	**62,103**	**(77%)**
Silvestri (R)	16,724	(21%)
Pepi (P&F)	1,583	(2%)

Speier is saavy, aggressive and hard working. Her first reelection was a breeze, allowing her to lend support to fellow Democrat Ted Lempert in the neighboring 20th District.

DISTRICT 20 (45% D - 42% R)

Lempert (D)	**68,833**	**(52%)**
Duplissea (R*)	58,276	(44%)
Genis (L)	4,167	(3%)

How do you spell "ambush?" L-e-m-p-e-r-t.

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Incumbent Republican Bill Duplissea's defeat at the hands of 27-year-old Ted Lempert is the stunner of this election season. This San Mateo County district has been Republican for eons. Until 1986 it was represented by Bob Naylor, now chairman of the California Republican Party. But Lempert stole it away with an aggressive grassroots campaign that featured months of precinct-walking by the candidate, members of his family and an army of volunteers. Lempert, an attorney, performed this miracle almost exclusively on his own; Assembly Democrats didn't step in until a few weeks before the election when polls showed the challenger within striking distance of Duplissea. Lempert, once an Assembly intern with Naylor, took on the race at the last minute after other San Mateo Democrats turned it down. In the beginning, most observers considered it a suicide run, but

Duplissea

Lempert

Lempert's precinct-walking revealed an undercurrent of dissatisfaction with the incumbent. Lempert's campaign stressed the need for legislative reform and a better record on the environment. This earned him strong support from the Sierra Club and from the League of Conservation Voters, both of which supplied volunteers for his campaign. Although Duplissea outspent him nearly two-to-one in what turned out to be a million-dollar campaign, much of Lempert's money was poured in during the critical last three weeks. He now becomes the youngest member of the Assembly, one year younger than incoming freshman Paul Woodruff (61st District).

DISTRICT 21 (53% D - 32% R)

Sher (D*)	**94,435**	**(88%)**
Goodwyn (L)	13,166	(12%)

This year, Republicans didn't even apply.

DISTRICT 22 (41% D - 46% R)

Yeamans (D)	45,565	(37%)
Quackenbush (R*)	**78,183**	**(63%)**

Quackenbush's first reelection campaign solidified his hold on the Republican part of Santa Clara County.

DISTRICT 23 (59% D - 28% R)

Vasconcellos (D*)	**55,370**	**(66%)**
Knapp (R)	26,046	(31%)
Greene (L)	2,972	(4%)

In a rematch with Vasconcellos, Deputy District Attorney Lynn Knapp polled two percent more votes than in 1986.

DISTRICT 24 (54% D - 34% R)

Cortese (D*)	**56,386**	**(54%)**
Norred (R)	48,762	(46%)

Did Republicans spread themselves too thin in 1988? In this district and in the 10th District (Isenberg), the GOP lavished money on novice candidates in order to pry popular Democrats out of relatively safe districts. Both efforts failed, although Cortese got a scare, running 10 points behind his 1986 effort. Rancher Buck Norred, backed by Assembly Republicans, spent over $700,000 and sent out 11 hit pieces attacking the incumbent as a big-spending politician. If nothing else, Republicans may have set the table for 1990.

DISTRICT 25 (53% D - 35% R)

Areias (D*)	**72,717**	**(75%)**
Gilmore (R)	22,230	(23%)
Hinkle (L)	2,159	(2%)

Ben Gilmore was back for his second try at Gang-of-Five member Rusty Arieas. He lost ground.

DISTRICT 26 (57% D - 35% R)

Johnston (D*)	**76,532**	**(72%)**
Correll (R)	29,749	(28%)

See Pat Johnston. See Pat run. See Pat win. See Pat be chairman of the insurance committee. See Pat get a migrane.

DISTRICT 27 (53% D - 38% R)

Condit (D*)	**80,362**	**(100%)**

The registration numbers in this Central Valley district point more and more toward the Republicans. But incumbent Gary Condit, leader of the Assembly's dissident Gang of Five, is too popular for the GOP. The best Republicans can hope for is a Condit conversion, or that Condit will run for the state Senate now that arch nemisis Willie Brown has glued himself more firmly to the speakership. With Condit out of the way, Republicans should make a viable run at this district.

DISTRICT 28 (56% D - 31% R)

Farr (D*)	**95,865**	**(71%)**
Skillicorn (R)	39,037	(29%)

A pastoral coastal district featuring Carmel, Monterey, Pebble Beach and Santa Cruz. Sam Farr keeps winning big and now returns for his fifth term in the Assembly.

DISTRICT 29 (40% D - 47% R)

Bradford (D)	42,371	(33%)
Seastrand (R*)	**85,935**	**(67%)**

Democrat Jan Bradford ran well ahead of incumbent Eric Seastrand's previous opponents in this coastal district centered around San Luis Obispo County. Not well enough; just well ahead.

DISTRICT 30 (61% D - 30% R)

Costa (D*)	**55,946**	**(72%)**
Hurt (R)	21,995	(28%)

There are parts of four counties in this district, with the largest chunk of votes resting in Fresno County. Incumbent Jim Costa carried all four counties by at least two-to-one.

DISTRICT 31 (58% D - 34% R)

Bronzan (D*)	**68,461**	**(71%)**
Haaland (R)	27,922	(29%)

Two years ago, we said that this Fresno County district could become a political battleground if the GOP keeps gaining registration. Since then, Republican registration has fallen off by a couple of points. It doesn't matter anyway as long as Bruce Bronzan's name is on the ballot.

DISTRICT 32 (44% D - 47% R)

Windham (D)	31,709	(28%)
Jones (R*)	**83,442**	**(73%)**

During the middle of his reelection campaign, incumbent Bill Jones announced that his main goal was to replace Assembly Minority Leader Pat Nolan. Shows how much attention Jones paid to his Democratic opponent. Jones partially suceeded in his quest. Nolan resigned, but Jones was defeated by Ross Johnson in his effort to succeed him.

DISTRICT 33 (50% D - 41% R)

Powell (D)	28,784	(34%)
Harvey (R*)	**57,259**	**(67%)**

In 1986 Trice Harvey won with 51 percent of the vote. Since then his major claim to fame is an abortive attempt to oust Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. That attempt did not endear him to Brown, but it helped solidify Harvey's home base. His toughest elections should now be history.

DISTRICT 34 (41% D -49% R)

Wilson (D)	40,198	(29%)
Wyman (R*)	**94,084**	**(69%)**
Baucum (L)	2,573	(2%)

A 10-year Assembly veteran, Phil Wyman returns for his sixth term.

DISTRICT 35 (50% D - 37% R)

O'Connell (D/R*)	**103,836**	**(93%)**
Bakhaus (L)	8,167	(7%)

A hard-fought, brutal campaign where the

Advertisement

EXCLUSIVES from POLITICAL PULSE

AHEAD OF EVERYBODY, we reported in the Oct. 14 issue:
"Coming out of a six-year hibernation from politics, Gov. Jerry Brown confirmed to Political Pulse this week that he has launched a campaign to run for state Democratic chair at the party's state convention next February."

AND AGAIN AHEAD OF EVERYBODY, Political Pulse reported in the same issue that the Assembly Democratic caucus was shifting money into a San Mateo County race where "energetic Democrat Ted Lempert, 27, walking precincts constantly with a sizable band of young people, is attempting to upset William Duplissea..."

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Republican and Democratic challengers savaged each other in toe-to-toe debates throughout Ventura and Santa Barbara counties. O'Connell tried to paint O'Connell as a Sacramento Kings fan who had become out-of-touch with his district. But O'Connell countered with his dogged support for the Los Angeles Lakers and his work on behalf of local constituents. At the tape, O'Connell seemed to have won a narrow victory, although O'Connell refused to concede until all absentee ballots were counted.

DISTRICT 36 (37% D - 51% R)

Webb (D)	37,341	(28%)
McClintock (R*)	**94,825**	**(70%)**
Driscoll (L)	3,579	(3%)

A heavily Republican Ventura County district. If Tom McClintock retires from the Assembly at age 65, he will have served 18 terms. He now returns for his fourth.

DISTRICT 37 (36% D - 53% R)

Marcus (D)	35,652	(25%)
Wright (R*)	**104,061**	**(73%)**
Bachwansky (L)	3,272	(2%)

Democratic registration keeps falling. Cathie Wright keeps winning.

DISTRICT 38 (42% D - 49% R)

Lit (D)	44,217	(36%)
LaFollette (R*)	**80,307**	**(65%)**

In 1988 Democrat Mark Lit ran 3 percent better against Marian LaFollette than he did in 1986.

DISTRICT 39 (58% D - 34% R)

Katz (D*)	**60,524**	**(73%)**
Rendleman (R)	20,662	(25%)
Newton (L)	2,293	(3%)

Richard Katz' biggest victory to date. Now, as chairman of the Assembly Transportation Committee, all he has to do is figure out how to finance the state's badly-needed highways and mass-transit systems.

DISTRICT 40 (55% D - 35% R)

Bane (D*)	**72,237**	**(73%)**
Dahl (R)	24,781	(25%)
Prah (L)	1,782	(2%)

A few "ifs" in Tom Bane's future. If Willie Brown retains him as chairman of the Assembly Rules Committee, and if Willie Brown follows through on promised legislative reforms that would increase the power and influence of the Rules Committee, Bane's stature could increase accordingly.

DISTRICT 41 (41% D - 49% R)

Vollbrecht (D)	43,420	(38%)
Nolan (R*)	**65,739**	**(58%)**
Helms (L)	2,618	(2%)
Kasimoff (P&F)	1,457	(1%)

An altogether dismal political 1988 for former Assembly Minority Leader Pat Nolan. Last year he mused about a future run for governor. This year he entered a political wilderness. All through the summer, his caucus showed signs of cracking into fragments over whether to join dissident Democrats in attempts to dump Speaker Willie Brown. Nolan helped Brown, thus alienating the more militant members of his own caucus. In late August he was among a handful of legislators whose offices were raided by the FBI in the aftermath of a "sting" operation aimed at influence-peddlers. A few weeks later, the Sacramento County district attorney accused Nolan of ordering his staff to lie about forging President Ronald Reagan's signature on a hit piece mailed out during the 1986 elections. Finally, the Nolan-led leadership team presided over a disasterous election that saw the GOP lose two, perhaps three Assembly seats (20th, 54th and 63rd), while one of its winners (72nd District) came under a legal cloud because of election irregularities at several Orange County polling places. As a result, Nolan resigned as Assembly minority leader two days after the election. Now, all he has to worry about is whether he will be indicted in the on-going FBI investigation. On the home front, Nolan's potential legal troubles gave some momentum to longtime opponent John Vollbrecht. Nolan, who in the past consistently bagged two-thirds of the vote, saw his percentage drop by 11 points.

DISTRICT 42 (40% D - 51% R)

Boyle (D)	31,759	(29%)
Mountjoy (R*)	**76,853**	**(71%)**

Richard Mountjoy ran 29 percent behind his 1986 margin.

DISTRICT 43 (55% D - 35% R)

Friedman (D*)	**80,459**	**(62%)**
Franklin (R)	44,610	(34%)
Leet (L)	2,513	(2%)
Hinds (P&F)	2,528	(2%)

This district is Terry Friedman's to have and to hold.

DISTRICT 44 (60% D - 29% R)

Hayden (D*)	**80,444**	**(61%)**
Stout (R)	50,557	(39%)

Hayden spent this election campaigning for Michael Dukakis.

DISTRICT 45 (60% D - 28% R)

Margolin (D*)	**74,619**	**(69%)**
Frankel (R)	29,148	(27%)
Fausto (P&F)	4,407	(4%)

A yawner for Burt Margolin.

DISTRICT 46 (61% D - 27% R)

Roos (D*)	**29,805**	**(68%)**
Trias (R)	11,526	(26%)
Lake (L)	1,588	(4%)
Taves (P&F)	1,059	(2%)

Once again, an incredibly low voter turnout. Once again, Latinos, who make up half the district, found little or no reason to go to the polls.

DISTRICT 47 (81% D - 11% R)

Hughes (D*)	**40,298**	**(95%)**
Riley (L)	2,361	(6%)

A heavily Black, heavily Latino portion of Los Angeles where incumbent Teresa Hughes reigns supreme.

DISTRICT 48 (84% D - 10% R)

M. Waters (D*)	**48,326**	**(100%)**

Groovin' on a Tuesday afternoon.

DISTRICT 49 (73% D - 18% R)

Moore (D*)	**79,670**	**(77%)**
Givens (R)	23,811	(23%)

Gwen Moore's Capitol office was one of those raided by the FBI during its August sweep, a fact that didn't seem to bother her constituents.

DISTRICT 50 (77% D - 16% R)

Tucker (D*)	**57,592**	**(72%)**
Davis (R)	22,626	(28%)

Assemblyman Curtis Tucker died midway through the campaign. His son, Curtis the Younger, plans to run in a special election to replace his father in early 1989. He may be opposed by Dan Tabor, an Inglewood city councilman who ran a distant second to Curtis the Elder in the June primary. Speaker Willie Brown has already announced support for Curtis the Younger.

DISTRICT 51 (37% D - 52% R)

Wirth (D)	45,468	(35%)
Felando (R*)	**82,193**	**(62%)**
Dobson (L)	3,984	(3%)

Gerald Felando's toughest 1988 election came in the June primary when he survived a frontal assault from Dean Dana III, son of the popular Los Angeles County supervisor. Fallout from that race contributed to the fact that Felando's winning percentage fell seven points from 1986.

DISTRICT 52 (43% D - 48% R)

Perkins (D)	40,939	(37%)
Hill (R*)	**70,477**	**(63%)**

This is a safe Republican district. Whether it is safe for Frank Hill will depend on the outcome of the on-going FBI investigation into influence-peddling by members of the Legislature. Hill was among those whose Capitol offices were raided by the FBI in August. He was also one of Pat Nolan's chief lieutenants (see District 41).

DISTRICT 53 (60% D - 29% R)

Floyd (D*)	**53,128**	**(59%)**
Bookhammer (R)	37,006	(41%)

"Ronald Reagan" didn't send a letter to Dick Floyd's constituents this year claiming Floyd was in cahoots with drug peddlers, as happened in 1986. Instead, Floyd gave some money to Pat Nolan's Democratic opponent. It was Nolan's caucus staff that wrote the Reagan letter, then forged the president's signature.

DISTRICT 54 (65% D - 27% R)

Murray (D)	**46,577**	**(52%)**
Zeltner (R*)	43,216	(48%)

Willard Murray, an aide to Democratic Congressman Mervyn Dymally, disproved a theory. Some observers were beginning to concede that a Black could not win in this

Zeltner

Murray

mostly blue-collar district centered around Bellflower and Lakewood. Two years ago Republican Paul Zeltner overcame lopsided Democratic registration to upset a Black candidate, even though the Black outspent him heavily. That candidate, however, was the son of Assemblywoman Maxine Waters

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(48th District), whom Democrats tried to ram down the throats of the district. Voters hiccuped and sent Zeltner to Sacramento. Speaker Willie Brown blamed the loss on a racist, anti-Black vote. But Murray's subsequent victory, albeit close, may indicate that Waters' loss two years ago was more the result of Assembly Democratic caucus arrogance than of voter racism. In this race, Murray received considerable help from the Berman-Waxman political apparatus.

DISTRICT 55 (67% D - 23% R)

Polanco (D*)	**43,011**	**(75%)**
Wilson (L)	5,192	(9%)
Alarcon (P&F)	8,895	(16%)

Richard Polanco won reelection to the Assembly, but his first foray into initiative politics proved embarrassing. Polanco was principal author of Proposition 101, an insurance-reform measure that lost by a five-to-one margin.

DISTRICT 56 (75% D - 15% R)

Roybal-Allard (D*)	**25,515**	**(80%)**
Sheldon (R)	4,388	(14%)
Munoz (P&F)	2,092	(7%)

Another heavily Latino district where voter turnout is extremely low.

DISTRICT 57 (61% D - 28% R)

Elder (D*)	**50,622**	**(69%)**
Ball (R)	19,554	(27%)
Bellock (P&F)	2,766	(4%)

The harbor district of Los Angeles and Long Beach sends Dave Elder back for his sixth term in the Assembly.

DISTRICT 58 (39% D - 50% R)

Kincaid (D)	43,290	(33%)
D.Brown (R*)	**80,549**	**(62%)**
Stier (L)	2,455	(2%)
Green (P&F)	3,126	(2%)

The Republican part of Long Beach, plus Signal Hill and a coastal strip of Orange County. Dennis Brown won easily but could lose his job as GOP caucus chairman now that his buddy, Pat Nolan, is no longer minority leader.

DISTRICT 59 (62% D - 28% R)

Calderon (D*)	**64,820**	**(87%)**
Pencall (L)	10,018	(13%)

Gang of Five member Chuck Calderon is secure in his Los Angeles County district but faces an uncertain future in Sacramento where nemisis Willie Brown once again will be speaker.

DISTRICT 60 (61% D - 30% R)

Tanner (D*)	**42,728**	**(66%)**
Velasco (R)	21,676	(33%)
Argall (L)	846	(1%)

Two years ago Henry Velasco came close to upsetting five-term incumbent Sally Tanner. This time, the former El Monte councilman was trounced.

DISTRICT 61 (39% D - 50% R)

Ford (D)	45,643	(35%)
Woodruff (R)	**82,396**	**(62%)**
Harbour (L)	4,178	(3%)

This election was decided in the June GOP primary where Woodruff defeated a host of wanna-bes seeking to replace Bill Leonard, who moves up to the state Senate. Woodruff, a 28-year-old Leonard aide, won a close primary over six opponents.

Woodruff

DISTRICT 62 (41% D - 50% R)

Wendt (D)	34,576	(29%)
Lancaster (R*)	**82,049**	**(68%)**
Polson (L)	4,388	(4%)

Lancaster will enter his ninth tour of duty.

DISTRICT 63 (57% D - 36% R)

Epple (D)	45,641	(50%)
Grisham (R*)	45,554	(50%)

The final, final result in this election will not be decided until all absentee ballots are counted — and then the whole sheebang is recounted. Just before press time, a partial count of absentee ballots indicated that incumbent Wayne Grisham had pulled ahead by nine votes. If he ultimately loses, however, it could be argued that Grisham is responsible for blowing two seats — one in the Senate and one in the Assembly. Last year, he insisted on running in a special election to fill a vacant state Senate seat despite opposition from local Republicans who wanted to run Cerritos Councilman Don Knabe. Grisham's refusal to bow out threatened an expensive and fractious primary. Governor George Deukmejian persuaded Knabe to defer to Grisham who campaigned ineffectively and lost to Democrat Cecil Green. This year, Green retained the seat in an expensive brawl with Knabe — a race many observers feel Knabe could have won a year ago. Thus, the Senate district was lost. In

Grisham

Epple

addition, Grisham's loss to Green exposed his vulnerability, later emphasized during the June 1988 GOP primary when his opponent garnered nearly a quarter of the vote without actively campaigning. In the general election, Republicans poured a fortune into the effort to save Grisham, but Democrats were determined to win back a seat they had held until 1984 when incumbent Bruce Young retired. Democrat Bob Epple won a hotly-contested June primary against a candidate backed by the Gang of Five. That made Epple's victory an imperative for Speaker Willie Brown, who gave him a lot of money and a lot of volunteer help. That help reappeared for the November election, in-

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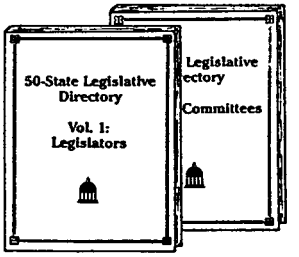

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cluding scores of Assembly staffers who took "voluntary vacation time" to walk precincts for Epple. If Epple is seated, Wayne Grisham will have blown a second district for the GOP.

DISTRICT 64 (35% D - 55% R)

Heuer (D)	30,978	(28%)
Johnson (R*)	**80,923**	**(72%)**

Ross Johnson emerged a big winner. Not only did he skate to relection from this heart-of-Orange-County district but, two days later, was elected Assembly minority leader to replace Pat Nolan.

DISTRICT 65 (40% D - 50% R)

Chamberlain (D)	38,798	(31%)
Bader (R*)	**84,082**	**(67%)**
Gautreau (L)	2,782	(2%)

Bader, often on the outs with Pat Nolan, should have a more pleasant time in Sacramento now that Ross Johnson is minority leader.

DISTRICT 66 (56% D - 35% R)

Eaves (D*)	**55,034**	**(55%)**
Masters (R)	40,362	(41%)
Snare (L)	4,247	(4%)

Jerry Eaves, a member of the Gang of Five, survived a brutal primary where allies of Speaker Willie Brown spent a ton of money to try to punish Eaves' perceived disloyalty. They failed but weakened him enough to encourage Republicans to make a real effort to unseat him. That made the race expensive, and it is reported that Eaves' warchest was partially fueled by those same Brown allies in an effort to keep the district out of Republican hands. Eaves won handily, considering the circumstances, and returned to Sacramento with no guarantees that he will be reconciled with the Democratic caucus — regardless of the help. It is said, however, that cracks in the Gang of Five's solidarity will first show up with Eaves.

DISTRICT 67 (31% D - 59% R)

Fink (D)	32,545	(26%)
Lewis (R*)	**94,565**	**(74%)**

John Lewis didn't have to worry about his own race and thus was given responsibility for Republican efforts in contested races elsewhere. Nice job.

DISTRICT 68 (54% D - 38% R)

Clute (D*)	**64,100**	**(55%)**
Carroll (R)	51,644	(45%)

Steve Clute is either incredibly lucky or incredibly smart. So, a concerted search of Clute's horoscope has begun. Maybe that will show why the Republicans can't find a decent candidate to run against him. Millions of dollars were spent on this race, which was the Republicans top priority. But Democrats started earlier and managed to improve the Democratic registration in this fast-growing Riverside County district that everyone concedes is rapidly tilting conservative. And Republican Brian Carroll, who had to survive an ugly primary, turned out to be a worse contender than Matt Webb, who had the task in 1986. Stars or no stars, Clute can rest easy here only as long as Republicans fail to find decent candidates.

DISTRICT 69 (33% D - 56% R)

Fennell (D)	38,685	(30%)
Frizzelle (R*)	**92,026**	**(70%)**

The Democratic candidate in this district is irrelevant; Nolan Frizzelle nearly always gets 70 percent of the vote.

DISTRICT 70 (27% D - 62% R)

Gallups (D)	48,687	(30%)
Ferguson (R*)	**116,359**	**(71%)**

Gil Ferguson will never lose this district to a Democrat. A fellow Republican, perhaps, but never to a Democrat.

DISTRICT 71 (41% D - 49% R)

Brown (D)	32,290	(31%)
Allen (R*)	**73,751**	**(70%)**

Democratic registration in this Orange County district actually fell two points between May and October.

DISTRICT 72 (54% D - 38% R)

Thierbach (D)	31,248	(50%)
Pringle (R)	**31,919**	**(50%)**

This race promised to be expensive and grueling even before the Republican incumbent, Richard Longshore, died one day after the June primary. Orange County Republican Party officials replaced Longshore with Curt Pringle, a 29-year-old drapery

Pringle

Thierbach

merchant and Garden Grove planning commissioner. He squared off against Christian Thierbach, a Riverside County prosecutor and protege of former Democratic Assemblyman Richard Robinson. And while the campaign was costly and nasty, no one anticipated that the GOP's bizarre antics on election day would jeopardize Pringle's eventual, albeit narrow, victory. But that is precisely what happened. On election day, the GOP hired uniformed security guards to patrol polling places in predominantly Latino precincts. The guards allegedly approached Latinos waiting in line, reminding them that they had to be citizens to vote. Democrats cried foul, charging that the guards were a blatant attempt to intimidate Latinos and prevent them from voting. Republicans claimed they were merely protecting themselves from an alleged Democratic plot to bus in non-citizens to vote for Thierbach, although Republicans couldn't explain how Democrats were supposed to accomplish that feat. The Orange County district attorney and the FBI are looking into the matter. Meanwhile, Latinos in the Assembly — Democrats all — have vowed to refuse Pringle his seat until every legal cloud has been lifted, and at least one local attorney is threatening a lawsuit to overturn the entire election.

DISTRICT 73 (41% D - 50% R)

Parker (D)	43,896	(30%)
Kelley (R*)	**97,409**	**(67%)**
Beers (L)	4,293	(3%)

Kelley romped to his sixth term.

DISTRICT 74 (31% D - 55% R)

Melville (D)	36,988	(27%)
Frazee (R*)	**94,559**	**(69%)**
Flanagan (L)	4,830	(4%)

Democratic strength in this Orange and San Diego County district is an oxymoron.

DISTRICT 75 (34% D - 52% R)

Christian (D)	44,178	(30%)
Mojonnier (R*)	**97,373**	**(65%)**
Murphy (L)	4,162	(3%)
Schoenberg (P&F)	3,186	(2%)

The Peace and Freedom candidate, Arnie Schoenberg, doubled his percent of the vote between 1986 and 1988.

DISTRICT 76 (33% D - 54% R)

Harman (D)	41,840	(26%)
Bradley (R*)	**114,943**	**(72%)**
Holmes (L)	4,077	(3%)

Five days before the election, Bill Bradley wrote his Republican Assembly colleagues a rambling but pointed four-page letter denouncing Minority Leader Pat Nolan and the arrogance with which Nolan and his clique of "cavemen" had run the caucus over the past two years. Nolan's tenure as leader ended two days after the election, but the man who replaced him — Ross Johnson — was also chastised in Bradley's letter. Thus Bradley's influence and clout, never substantial to begin with, was reduced even further, despite his big win on election day.

DISTRICT 77 (37% D - 50% R)

Hornreich (D)	38,487	(32%)
Bentley (R)	**76,159**	**(64%)**
Deutsch (L)	4,308	(4%)

Musical districts — San Diego style. Incumbent Larry Stirling's election to the state Senate opened the door for Carol Bentley, an aide to GOP state Senator Jim Ellis whose retirement opened the door for Stirling whose step up to the Senate opened the door for Ellis' aide Bentley whose ...

DISTRICT 78 (46% D - 41% R)

Killea (D*)	**73,329**	**(60%)**
Wear (R)	46,667	(38%)
McMillen (L)	2,565	(2%)

On election night, some Democrats in Sacramento were grousing good-naturedly about all the money they poured into Lucy Killea's reelection bid. They planned to pay for a Killea victory, not a Killea landslide. Money aside, the vote is evidence that the incumbent's popularity is enough in this instance to overcome very negative registration figures.

DISTRICT 79 (59% D - 29% R)

Chacon (D*)	**50,738**	**(69%)**
Gahn (R)	20,109	(27%)
Shea (L)	3,175	(4%)

An impressive victory for Peter Chacon.

DISTRICT 80 (51% D - 37% R)

Peace (D*)	**47,683**	**(59%)**
Baldwin (R)	31,563	(39%)
Myrseth (L)	1,673	(2%)

In his heart of hearts, Gang of Five member Steve Peace knows who in the Assembly has power and who doesn't, and it is said he will gravitate toward that power once the new Legislature convenes.

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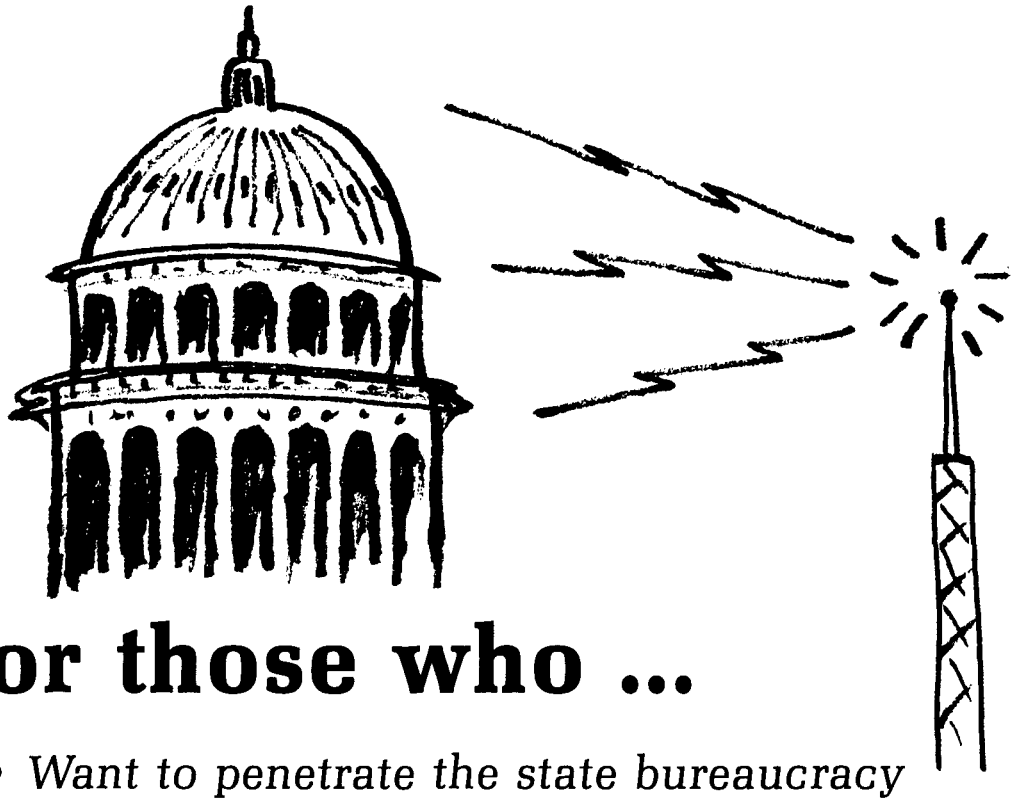

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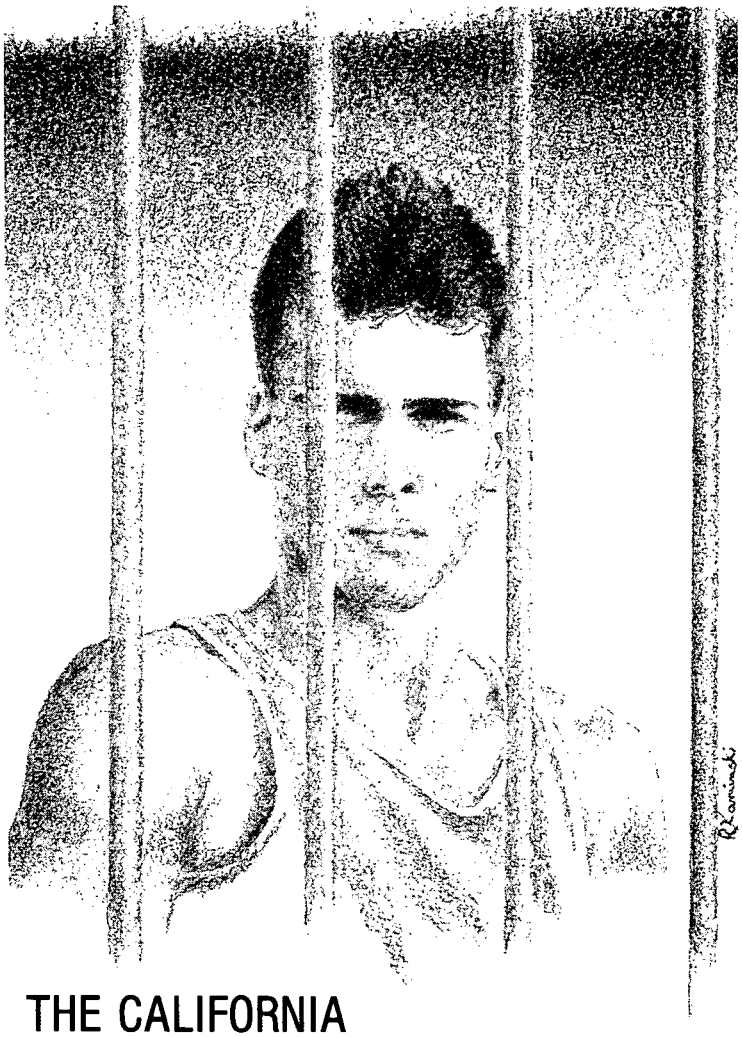

THE CALIFORNIA YOUTH AUTHORITY

Is a "get tough" policy right for youthful offenders?

By Bruce Scheidt

A visitor's first impression inside the O.H. Close School at the Northern California Youth Center is that there must be a mistake. Prisons are supposed to be fearsome places for hardened adults. The blue-denim-clad boys inside this prison, most of them between the ages of 13 and 17, look so young, so innocent. But listen to some of their stories.

"I was real dangerous," says a 15-year-old Black youth who sold rock cocaine on the streets of Los Angeles. One time a girl tried to rip him off in a drug deal. He raped and shot her. He is scheduled to be released from the Stockton-area facility in 1995.

An effusive 15-year-old White youth readily admits to a rape conviction. Reflecting on his future, he says he hopes his woodshop class teaches him a sense of responsibility because he recently became a father. He plans to raise the child with the mother when he is released in 1993.

Proving that appearances can be frightfully deceiving, a frail-looking 11-year-old explains that he was convicted for stabbing a stranger. "I wanted his jacket," he says.

The three are among nearly 9000 youths serving time at 11 institutions and six camps run by the California Youth Authority, home to some of the country's toughest and most sophisticated young criminals. Under the firm approach of Governor George Deukmejian's Youthful Offender Parole Board, California is incarcerating a higher percentage of its juvenile offenders for longer periods than any other industrialized state in the country. For every 100,000 youths in California, the state locks up 430, a remarkable number considering that Texas places only 125 per 100,000 youths in high-security correctional facilities, Illinois imprisons 126, Michigan 170, and Ohio 230.

The administration's lock-'em-up approach to young felons may seem like a proper response to the types of crimes that sent many of these young toughs to the Youth Authority, but there are some who fear the administration's policies are being applied indiscriminately. A growing number of critics question whether the Deukmejian administration's tough parole policies and its investment in large, isolated and high-security facilities are too costly and ineffective to reduce delinquency.

Those who challenge the present system contend that the Youth Authority's statutory purpose — rehabilitation, not punishment — is being sacrificed because too many "lightweight" offenders are being mixed with hardened young-adult felons. The Youth Authority, it is said, is becoming a crime factory where a gladiator-like atmosphere prevents non-violent delinquents from getting proper treatment.

"The CYA was once a national model for juvenile justice. Now it is just the opposite," says Michael Lerner, who heads Commonweal Research Institute.

Commonweal recently issued a 79-page report, the culmination of an eight-year study, which contends that CYA is being misused. The Commonweal report claims only half of CYA's inmates are so violent or are such chronic offenders that they belong in a secure prison environment. The other half, such as those committed to CYA for non-violent offenses, would be better off in smaller, intensely-supervised

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Bruce Scheidt is Capitol correspondent for the Bakersfield Californian.

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programs closer to the communities in which they live in order to achieve the best chance for rehabilitation, the Commonweal report asserts. The authors of the report and others say this new approach would not endanger the public. CYA officials disagree.

"What they're saying is that all the burglars, all the dope dealers should not be with us," says CYA Director Cal Terhune. "If you look at the total record, there may be an armed robbery in the (ward's) background. And a chronic burglar can be a threat to the community."

CYA accepts youths who are convicted of a felony before the age of 18, and in certain cases convicted felons between the ages of 18-21 who are considered too unsophisticated for the adult prisons run by the Corrections Department. CYA can hold a youth until the age of 25.

At the center of the debate is the Youthful Offender Parole Board, a panel of seven Deukmejian appointees which administers an indeterminate-sentencing system. When a ward is committed to the CYA, the Youthful Offender Parole Board establishes an interval of time — a form of indeterminate sentencing called a "parole consideration date" — in which the ward "may reasonably and realistically" expect to be released. The parole-consideration date is supposed to reflect board-established sentencing "guidelines" for seven categories of crime, ranging from seven years for first-degree murder to one year for lesser felonies like carrying a concealed firearm.

But in recent years the board's parole-consideration dates have exceeded its sentencing guidelines by an average of three months per ward, even though the sentencing guidelines themselves have been increased by the board. Tougher parole policies have meant the average length of stay in the Youth Authority has increased from 14.8 months in 1982-83 to a projected 23.7 months this fiscal year, according to the Legislative Analyst's Office. Moreover, each month the average sentence is increased adds $10 million to the cost of CYA's operations.

Except for murder and rape, a ward sentenced to the Youth Authority ends up serving more time than an adult sent to a Corrections' facility for the very same crime. For example, a Youth Authority ward is incarcerated for an average time of 25.6 months for robbery, 16.6 months for burglary and 15.7 months for auto theft; an adult convicted under the determinate-sentencing law will be released by Corrections, on average, after 25.2 months for a robbery conviction, 15.6 months for burglary and 11.3 months for auto theft, according to an Assembly Ways and Means study.

The longer sentences have pushed CYA's overcrowding to 150 percent of capacity. The Deukmejian administration has responded by beginning construction on 1119 new beds and by initiating the planning process for a new 1800-bed, $191-million institution in Kern County.

Commonweal and several Democratic legislators contend the overcrowding would cease if the Youthful Offender Parole Board would set parole dates in accordance with the board's own sentencing guidelines and if the Deukmejian administration would stop accepting non-violent delinquents who would be better off in community-based treatment programs.

"The issue is, are these people managing the system competently?" asked Democratic Assemblyman Burt Margolin of Los Angeles. "I'm not for a Youth Authority system that pushes us into a $200-million decision ... that is in viola-

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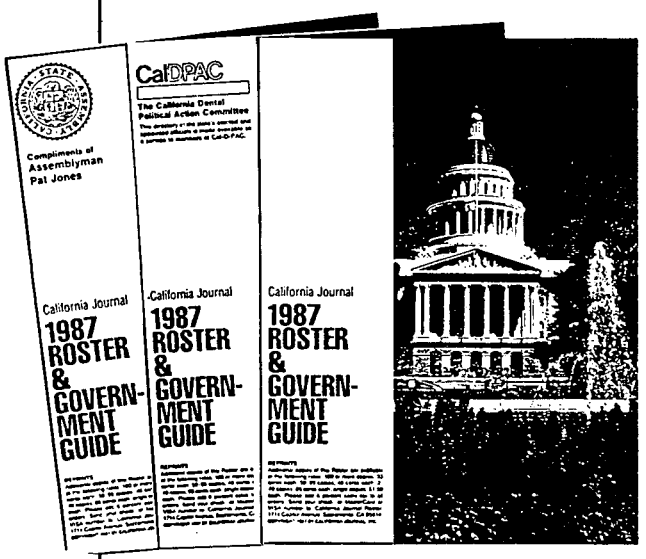

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tion of its own [sentencing] guidelines."

The board responds that sentencing guidelines do not mean a fixed term or sentence and can be adjusted by the board in response to the individual ward's training and treatment needs.

"Our guidelines provide for the authority to aggravate the penalty to match the seriousness of the crime," said John Monday, the board's executive officer. "Everything you read is, these are little kids. These are 20-year-old offenders, on the average [actually 19.1 years of age]."

Several legislators are determined to challenge the CYA system and the board's parole policies. During the recent 1987-88 legislative session, an Assembly Ways and Means budget subcommittee chaired by Margolin refused the administration's request for $5.2 million to purchase a site in Kern County for the proposed 1800-bed CYA facility. The budget subcommittee instead appropriated $658,000 for site studies and environmental reports, postponing a decision until 1989.

Margolin said CYA and the Youthful Offender Parole Board are "acting as if they have a blank check."

"It's possible we need this facility; I'm not ruling it out," Margolin said. "We're going to be asking some very tough questions. When we're battling to stay under the Gann [spending] limit, those amounts are significant."

The future of the Youthful Offender Parole Board also is at stake. The Commonweal report recommended abolishing the board and moving its function within the Youth Authority. The authors of the Commonweal report and a Ways and Means consultant say that CYA staff privately disagree with the board's tough sentencing policies but are hesitant to speak out publicly.

Terhune, CYA's director, says he is not critical of the board's tougher parole policies and he would oppose any transfer of the board's authority into his department. Terhune said a consolidation of functions would create a conflict of interest because CYA would have several motives to release wards early, including relieving overcrowding.

"I've been asked to release wards to alleviate overcrowding without a helluva lot of regard for public safety," Terhune said. "Another concern is that when you work with these kids, you get to know them, and it can affect your objectivity."

The Legislature this year stripped $1 million from the board's $3 million budget, promising to re-appropriate the funds only if the board followed its sentencing guidelines in setting parole dates. But during the last days of the session the $1 million was restored. Assembly Ways and Means Chairman John Vasconcellos, a San Jose Democrat, now says the restoration was "inadvertant; a casualty of the confusion in the waning hours of the legislative session."

Vasconcellos sent a toughly-worded letter to Bob Murphy, chairman of the Youthful Offender Parole Board, in which he warned Murphy "not to misconstrue" the $1 million restoration.

"...(B)e assured that my committee, and others, remain most interested in the policies of the board."

The Legislature last year first attempted to gain some control over the board's parole policies through Vasconcellos-authored legislation which was vetoed by Deukmejian. It would have required the board's sentencing guidelines to be reviewed by the Legislature's policy and fiscal committees. Deukmejian's veto message called the bill "unnecessary"

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Contact **Rod Tuttle** at 916/444-2840

and a "duplicative cost" to the state.

The Commonweal report says California should follow some innovative programs begun in other industrial states as an alternative to prison for non-violent delinquents. One, for example, is called Outward Bound, which would require a youth to go through a series of physically-demanding experiences such as rock climbing, canoeing and rope climbing. The programs have worked in other states by improving a youth's self-esteem by requiring him to perform physical challenges that require confidence and teamwork, according to Paul DeMuro, who helped write the Commonweal report and ran Massachusetts' largest youth institution.

Other CYA kids could be safely placed in a residential-type home in which there are two adult supervisors for every one juvenile.

"It's just not the case that every kid in CYA is Jack the Ripper. They are becoming more violent daily by the environment they are placed in, not less violent," DeMuro said. "On the other hand, I'm not saying every kid in CYA should be let free."

Programs of these types are very expensive, but Commonweal said they would be afforded by not building a new $191 million institution in Kern County, which would save an additional $40 million annually in operational costs to run the Kern facility. Moreover, alternative programs likely would prove more effective in rehabilitating juvenile delinquents than the existing prison setting, which produces a 51-percent recidivism rate within two years after a ward's release, Commonweal reports.

Other states are moving in Commonweal's direction. Pennsylvania, for example, is beginning to send more of its juvenile felons to community-based programs for which the state pays 75 percent of the cost.

"The smaller facility tends to be more effective. There's a family kind of atmosphere," said Tal Owens, who runs Pennsylvania's Bureau of Children's and Youth Programs.

But CYA's Terhune said none of the wards in his institutions would be ready for less-secure facilities until they complete treatment and training programs.

"We've reviewed and reviewed the files, and I can't find anybody who shouldn't be with us," Terhune says.

As for those critics who say CYA'S 51-percent recividism rate proves the current system is not working, CYA's Assistant Director Tony Cimarusti strongly disagrees.

"If we turn around two, or three, or four, out of 10, that's not bad when you consider what we have to work with," Cimarusti said.

Cimarusti said CYA's critics don't mention the good things being done for wards. CYA institutions offer programs stressing education, employment skills, public service and accountability, for example, and every institution has a special drug-counseling program. Cimarusti noted that every ward has to be involved in some sort of restitution. In 1987 wards contributed more than one million hours to the communities near their institutions and camps, and this does not count the 361,420 hours wards spent battling brush and forest fires in conservation camps operated in conjunction with the California Department of Forestry, according to Cimarusti. Wards have paid more than $83,000 into the state's crime-victim restitution fund in two-and-a-half years.

Regardless of the numbers either side points to, the debate goes on.

"If we want to raise animals, we put them in cages," said Barry Krisberg, president of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. "If we want to raise citizens, we put them in the community."

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"WILD BILL" RICHARDSON

A maverick senator rides into the sunset

By Dan Smith

Shod in sneakers, a flannel shirt draped over his substantial paunch, H.L. "Bill" Richardson sat in his Capitol office amid a dozen packing boxes and several carefully wrapped wall hangings.

"This is the happiest day of my life," he proclaimed without hesitation. "The only thing I'm going to miss is my gasoline credit card and the secretaries doing all the work for me."

Without regrets, but with the same trademark outrageousness that marked his 22 years in the Capitol, the Legislature's 60-year-old conservative conscience packed his belongings and left public employment last month.

Left behind was a series of what he calls "lumps" on the body politic — successes on the gut conservative issues of capital punishment, gun control and a reformed judiciary. He also spawned a sophisticated and sustaining external campaign operation designed to promote the conservative cause and its champions. Also in his wake are a number of bruised political opponents, victims of his brand of uncompromising political confrontation, wielded relentlessly without regard to party affiliation, that has won devoted followers and lifelong enemies. Lying ahead of the former John Birch devotee are new lumps and new ways of raising them.

His decision to leave office had nothing to do with fear of failure. Richardson barely worked up a sweat winning six elections from the massive state Senate district that includes parts of eastern Los Angeles County and rural

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San Bernardino and Inyo counties. The heavily Republican district re-elected him overwhelmingly despite an attendance record that deteriorated steadily over his tenure.

"Most guys get in to this place because they want to be legislators. I got in

because I disliked it and I wanted to change it," Richardson said. "But there comes a time when either you move up or you move out. People are like eggs, they either develop and grow or they rot. I want to continue to grow.

"You can never emerge triumphant with the (not-so-conservative Republican state Senator) Bill Craven of the world in your backyard. There's got to be some unity, some ideological cohesiveness, and the Republicans here haven't seen the import of that. I felt I'd reached a point that instead of griping about it, I was better off getting out and doing something else."

But while Richardson will no longer grace the Senate chamber (he was rarely there anyway), and while he admits "direct political participation is less and less interesting to me now," Richardson and his political organizations will continue to pursue the arch-conservative agenda. And Richardson — cartoonist, author and former advertising executive — believes he has hit upon the ultimate political campaign vehicle: home video.

The technique was first used in the successful effort to oust Chief Justice Rose Bird and Associate Justices Joseph Grodin and Cruz Reynoso from the state Supreme Court in 1986. About 10,000 copies of a 28-minute home video, titled "Court of Injustice," were distributed in the anti-Court campaign, 500 of them to video rental stores as free rentals. Richardson estimates 1.7 million voters viewed the film. Richardson donated a similar "attack video" to the campaign of Harry Damkar, who challenged Watsonville's Democratic Senator Henry Mello last month. The idea has even caught on with Democrats. San Mateo County Supervisor Anna Eshoo distributed thousands of copies of videos introducing her to voters of the 12th Congressional District in her race against Republican Tom Campbell.

Richardson also recently completed work on a 90-minute documentary on Marxism-Leninism titled "Red World" and is working on another, tentatively titled "How to Profit in the Coming Depression." Richardson predicts the national debt will lead to 35 percent to 45 percent unemployment within 10 years. The films will be distributed through the now-legendary campaign organizations he began in the 1970s, including Gun Owners of California and Gun Owners of America.

"Somebody said to me a long time ago, 'Bill, we ought to learn how to clone you.' Well, I've figured out how to do that. It's called video," Richardson said with a smile.

And he will continue to write. Author of "What Makes You Think We Read the Bills?" and "Slightly to the Right," Richardson is halfway through his third effort, "Confrontation Politics," the contents of which he describes as "how it works and why Republicans will continue to fail unless they understand it."

He will continue to operate his Computer Caging Corporation, a very successful direct-mail firm initially set up in 1976 to handle the campaign contributions for the gun owners' committees and Richardson's Law and Order Campaign Committee. These were among the first organizations to discover the politically powerful mix of targeted direct mail and single-issue politics.

By carefully cultivating a list of individuals committed to a specific issue, Richardson discovered that the same group could be tapped over and over for money and support on related issues. While maintaining his links to these groups and forming strategic alliances when the need occured, Richardson in recent times has also expanded his political operations to include fundamentalist evangelicals as well.

His post-Senate endeavors, while potentially profitable, are not designed as money-makers, insists Richardson, who claims to be financially comfortable as a result of shrewd investments, especially in silver. Instead, the films and writings and continued political activism stem from Richardson's continued desire to "raise lumps" on the political landscape.

Just as Richardson has tired of life as a senator, he has given up on seeking statewide office. He was trounced in his bid for the U.S. Senate against Alan Cranston in 1974 and lost in the GOP primary for lieutenant governor to Mike Curb in 1986. And he never achieved the top leadership spot in the Senate he long had sought. He was dumped as the number-two leader of Senate Republicans in 1974, won it back in 1978 only to be turned out again a year later. Two attempts to overthrow Minority Leader William Campbell in 1979 and 1980 fizzled in failure.

"I'm too tough for this state. They don't want me," he conceded. "Americans like conservative rhetoric but they don't like conservative action. I'd cut agencies and enjoy it. The louder they would scream, the more I would smile. I'm the guy who would tell the rice farmer his subsidy is out the window. I'm the guy who would say you're responsible for your mother, I'm not."

Armed with the massive fund-raising ability offered by the mechanisms he developed to tap his conservative constituencies, Richardson has been known to publicly threaten recalcitrant legislators with political action if they didn't see the light on the Richardson issue of the moment.

"If you're not with him, you can rest assured that you see an article written about you in his column, or the next time one of his support groups sends out a flyer, you're down there as being on the wrong side of the issue," said Senate Minority Leader Ken Maddy. "He is tough and unrelenting, but he believes politics is a tough business and you can play hardball without it getting personal, although he's been accused of that in the past."

Senator Milton Marks, a San Francisco Democrat, was a recipient of one of the more "personal" attacks in 1973, when Richardson slugged then-Republican Marks in a fight that began on the Senate floor and continued in an adjacent room.

While Maddy contends that "the Legislature needs somebody like H.L.," he questions the effectiveness of Richardson's style in getting "positive" things done for his constituents. "Anybody who is as set in his ideas and philosophy as he is, it is automatically hard to live with them," Maddy said. "This is an art of compromise and you have to give. When you're in the minority, to accomplish some things you have to work with the majority. In that respect, Bill is a headliner."

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Senator Robert Presley, a conservative Riverside Democrat whom Richardson has targeted more than once, doubted the effectiveness of the methods. "It has not been successful. What has he done recently?" And Presley predicted the Senate would probably be better off without him, "because at least we'll have 40 people participating."

But Richardson has no apologies for his style or his narrow agenda and no use for compromise.

"I don't have to defend my style. It's been successful because I understand Democrats and I understand liberals. They run this place. You deal with a liberal on a confrontational basis. It's the only thing he understands or respects. You build constituencies and then you fight them head on. Your only ability to get things through a hostile house is your ability to punish.

"I didn't come to the Legislature to compromise the things I believed in. What kind of compromise can there be on the death penalty? You can't execute half a body or a leg. You either believe in it or you don't."

More legislators, he said, should lighten their load and concentrate on issues that matter most to them. Conservative Senator John Doolittle, Richardson's former aide who used his boss' help to upset Democrat Albert Rodda in 1980, has done just that with his proposals to increase disclosure of AIDS cases, Richardson said.

"If you want to know when you're having an impact, it's when people come up to you and start complaining that you're a one-issue person. Most legislators flit like fireflies from one area to another, lighting briefly and then dimming their butts and going on."

He blames the Republicans in the Senate as much as Democrats. "Most of them are wimps. They're gutless wonders. They love speaking to the Kiwanis Club or having cocktails at the country club, but they never came up here to fight or to be confrontational or to regain territory."

As for successes, Richardson figures he'll be best remembered for two: his role with Governor Deukmejian in restoring the death penalty and keeping gun control out of California. "In 1975, we were on the verge of all guns being confiscated. It was perceived as the inevitable thing to happen. Thirteen years later, you can't get an anti-gun Mother's Day resolution out of this place. I think I had a little to do with that."

Richardson's last show of force came this past August when 3000 religious conservatives marched on the Capitol to ask for an anti-pornography law that would allow each community's own standards to decide what was pornographic, an approach endorsed by the U.S. Supreme Court. With the crowd chanting "Remember November" as a warning to lawmakers, the Assembly amended the community standard into a bill and sent it to the Senate. But there, it was bottled up in committee and instead a toughened, but statewide, standard of obscenity ultimately passed.

"He wasn't successful," said Maddy, "but he certainly moved the issue of the community standard to a broader consciousness level."

Richardson's voice may not be absent after all in the Senate of 1989. The battle plan of Redlands Republican Assemblyman Bill Leonard, who won Richardson's seat in the November election, sounds vaguely familiar.

"Over my 10 years (in the Assembly) I've become more convinced that he's right and where I started was wrong," said Leonard. "The institutional bias of the Legislature on the liberal side cannot be negotiated out by good old inside discussions. There's a lot of lazy legislators who are so entrenched that their constituents' views don't matter. Richardson's tactics of confrontation is the only way to make significant change."

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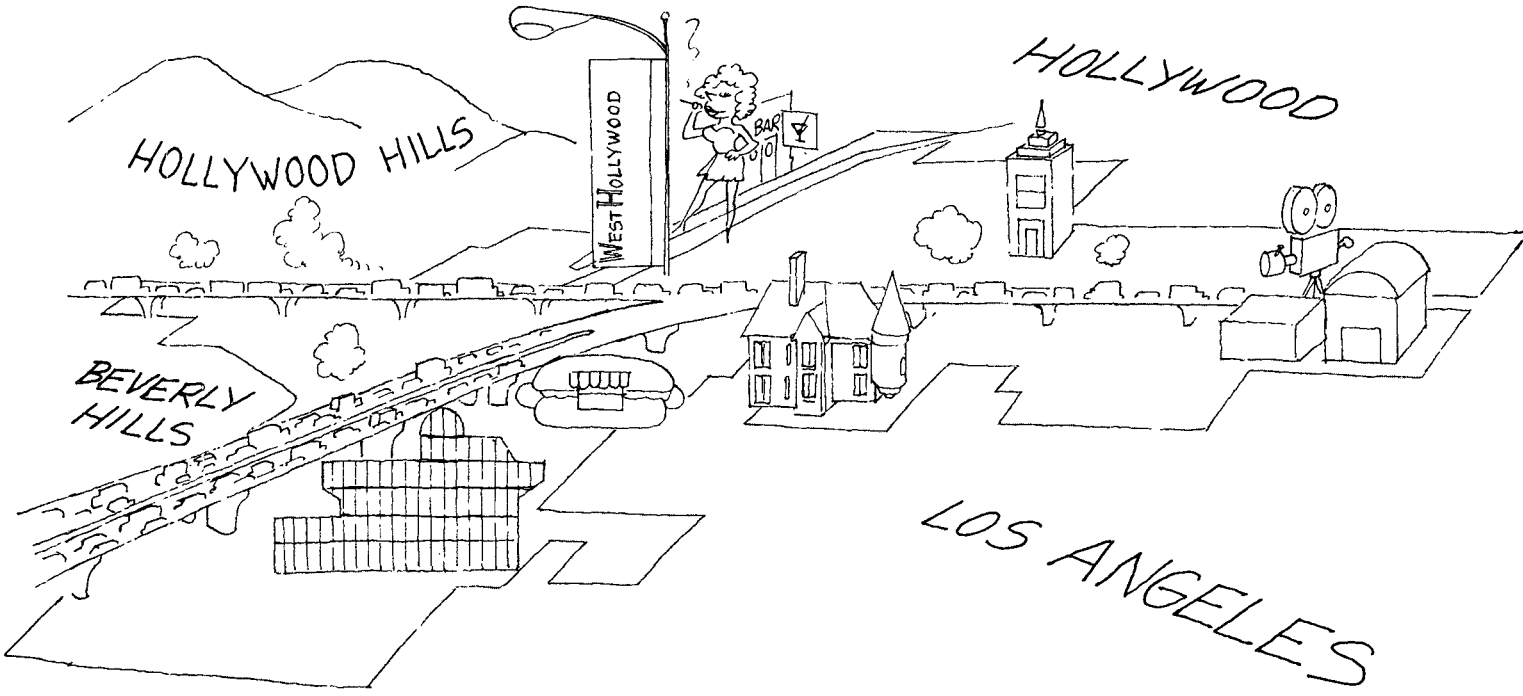
West Hollywood

Creative city; diverse constituencies

By Tom Waldman



West Hollywood has its distractions.

Visitors to the office of City Manager Paul Brotzman can break from discussing zoning laws and look out at the Sports Connection, a hip health club whose huge windows allow the curious to study beefy, sweaty and sometimes beautiful bodies. On the street below (Santa Monica Boulevard) joggers dressed in the best shorts and shoes pump their legs impatiently as they wait for an uncooperative stoplight to turn green.

At night, the scenery gets better. Unsuspecting motorists are surprised to pass many clubs where only men seem to go in and out. A few blocks north, on Sunset Boulevard, rock palaces such as the Roxy and Whisky are surrounded by beautiful girls in short skirts and high heels clutching their long-haired, heavy metal-loving boyfriends. Beverly Hills and Westwood have nothing on this town.

All this is just fine with West Hollywood's leaders, who know that narcissism and excessive partying are considered virtues in Southern California. But they do wish people would look further. Sure — the city has a thriving gay population (25 percent of the total) and, yes — the rock clubs feature bands that make the Jimi Hendrix Experience sound calm. Beyond the obvious, however, is a 1.9-square mile city bordering Beverly Hills and Hollywood and filled with expensive restaurants, art galleries, recording studios and posh hotels.

Ask the local elite to draw comparisons, and they will tell you West Hollywood reminds them of the Left Bank of Paris, or Venice. (That's Italy, not California.)

Four years after a coalition of gay activists, rent-control advocates, disgruntled seniors and champions of home rule led a successful voter drive to incorporate West Hollywood, this city of 40,000 is seriously trying to forge an identity. The public, fueled by jokes on "The Johnny Carson Show" and insults uttered by the irrepressible talk-show host Wally George, imagine this a strange place where gays dominate city hall and make love in the streets. Others no doubt recall the 1986 conviction of Valerie Terrigno, West Hollywood's first mayor, on 12 counts of embezzlement.

As if this were not enough, the city council is as fierce a proponent of rent control as is its counterpart in Santa Monica. The West Hollywood ordinance ties the base rent to April 1984 and permits annual increases of 75 percent of the Consumer Price Index.

Continued on next page

Tom Waldman, a freelance writer from North Hollywood, wrote "Orange County Democrats" for the March 1988 Journal.

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In the long run, none of these images, true or false, will help West Hollywood attract the next generation of entrepreneurs — men and women who may only know the city from what they have read and heard since the incorporation — which is why the city council has spent $900,000 over the past two years to create the municipal equivalent of a Hollywood press agent.

The West Hollywood Marketing Corporation is a non-profit entity officially established to bolster the city's already formidable business and tourist activity. "We may be the only city in the U.S. with a marketing corporation," said Ronald S. Kates, a local realtor and corporation chair. The corporation's leaders, mindful that image is more than half the battle, hired a public-relations firm, which immediately dubbed West Hollywood "The Creative City." Johnny Carson, though a talented man, would still have a tough time working that moniker into his monologue.

In an age of labels and slogans, a new name apparently can't hurt. "I think the image has begun to turn around," said Alan Viterbi, former West Hollywood councilman and a spearhead of the corporation. "Now you hear about a lot of other things in West Hollywood."

One of those things is that West Hollywood, for all its kookiness, is actually a wealthy city. Kates said the 3500 businesses in town produce annual revenues of $2.7 billion. "We have to protect and enhance this base," he noted.

It's a good point. Of the city's $30 million budget, $11 million comes from sales tax and a hotel bed tax. The St. James Club, an exclusive new hotel on Sunset where rooms cost hundreds of dollars per night, can generate an annual $500,000 for West Hollywood, according to the city manager. This explains why a very liberal city council is anxious to maintain warm relations with big business. West Hollywood may be a community, in the words of Councilwoman Abbe Land, "founded by the people," but there is no confusing it with Berkeley.

Credibility is also important because West Hollywood is increasingly threatened by competitive neighbors named Beverly Hills, Los Angeles and (a someday redeveloped) Hollywood. These cities are putting together their own attractive packages to capitalize on the Southern California boom. Los Angeles has been a particular problem; the huge and plush Ma Maison hotel is being constructed right on the border with West Hollywood. Besides dwarfing nearby single-family homes, Ma Maison will inevitably steer business from West Hollywood's fancy hotels.

Along the same lines, one developer recently made a spirited though unsuccessful bid to build a downtown Los Angeles mart that would compete with West Hollywood's massive Pacific Design Center, which houses over 200 design showrooms. The project's failure did not calm Kates, who called the action a veritable "corporate raid."

West Hollywood does not have the means to outmuscle mighty Los Angeles. Instead, the corporation's strategy is to sell the city on its own terms. "Our goal is to get tourists and consumers to realize they may have been shopping here (and not known it)," said Kates. Brochures extolling the city's virtues are available everywhere.

Important business people get personal attention. To Kates has fallen the job of, among other things, wooing clients over lunch at the Playboy Mansion. It's a perfect place for him to make the point that in this city "people just aren't that traditional."

If West Hollywood's respect for business is appropriate for the 1980s, its other policies are right out of the 1960s. In just four years the city has funded social services at a rate that makes the Great Society stingy by comparison. Though precise statistics are not available, sources at the League of California Cities believe West Hollywood spends more per capita on social services than does any American city — the current rate is $2.5 million annually on behalf of 40,000 residents.

A list of the agencies funded in 1987-88 reflects the key constituencies that pushed cityhood; $200,000 for AIDS Project/Los Angeles, $505,000 for Jewish Family Services which includes programs for the elderly, and $150,000 to the Los Angeles Free Clinic. Other expenditures indicate a commitment to the city's original intent, including between $150,000 and $200,000 each year fighting legal challenges to the rent control ordinance. Money also goes for two Sacramento lobbyists. "So much of what we do depends on the whims of legislators," said Abbe Land, citing threats to decrease state subventions, or periodic talk of denying local government the right to enact rent control.

Clearly council members, having for the most part come out of the incorporation movement, feel a closeness to the residents that would not be evident in older cities, where a general sense of unity inevitably erodes over time. This helps explain why West Hollywood funds 30 agencies and programs. But there is something else at work, a philosophy that guides many of the city's decisions. "In a community where 20 to 25 percent of the population is gay, 40 to 50 percent is Jewish, and 10 percent is Russian, respect for human rights is significant," said Brotzman.

Elderly Jews and the gay community also have come together over the issue of rent control, which is largely the reason for its success. This alliance is not as implausible as it might seem. The Jewish population includes a disproportionate number of immigrants and old-line labor organizers from the East Coast, both of which have consistently exhibited anti-discrimination tendencies in their actions and words.

"Through the years, rent control struggles have seen seniors and gays work together," said Larry Gross, executive director of the Coalition for Economic Survivial — one of the leading groups that pushed cityhood.

West Hollywood's ability to keep everyone happy will be tested in the coming years. Not only are the expansionist designs of bordering cities a threat, but rent control and restrictions on development may well cause investors to go elsewhere. The city does not now permit most buildings to be higher than 45 feet — too low to satisfy the needs of many developers. But this is an attractive city, and aesthetic considerations are important.

Rent control not only makes it financially difficult for landlords to stick around, it also poses a recurring political challenge to the council. So far the pro-landlord candidates have been easily defeated, but a population shift, or an untimely scandal, could lead to an upset. And who's to say this new council would not feel very differently about massive support for social services?

Even before that happens, however, a decline in business revenues could cause the city to make some difficult funding decisions. The choice would be that much tougher because the preferred programs — AIDS prevention, help for seniors — assist people whose needs are not going to disappear. Harmony between disparate groups would fade as each tried to get its share.

This means the continued existence of West Hollywood as we know it depends to a great degree on the marketing corporation's success. That symbiotic relationship between business and liberalism — uncommon in these greedy times — defines West Hollywood as surely as record producers, feisty seniors and noisy clubs.

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LEON PANETTA'S NEW CHALLENGE:

House point man on the federal budget

By Laura Mecoy

Leon Panetta doesn't sit still. He wiggles about in his chair. His brown eyes roam around his congressional office. They never seem to focus on any of the political memorabilia or pictures of his family on the walls. He leans back, pulls his left knee toward his chest, wraps his hands around it and puts his foot up on the coffee table. Then — thinking better of it — he puts his foot down on the floor.

All the while, this 50-year-old Democratic congressman from Carmel Valley continues his discourse on the challenges he'll face when he becomes House Budget Committee chairman this month (December): a $2.4-trillion deficit consuming $166 billion in interest each year, a Congress that has yet to come to grips with the gnawing debt and a new president chosen from two candidates who virtually ignored the issue.

Always a powerful post, the budget committee, which sets limits for how much Congress can spend on each section of the federal budget, has taken on additional importance in these times of soaring budget deficits and "Gramm-Rudman" bills designed to force Congress to restrict spending, a task both the legislative and executive branches have found difficult.

"There is no way in hell the president can do this job alone, and there is no way in hell that the Congress can do this job," Panetta said. He emphasizes his points by jabbing his fingers into the table top where his foot had been. "The only way you deal with what are now these very tough choices is if both are willing to come together. If the president is not willing to do that, then we will essentially have a logjam — essentially a stand-off, and that is not good for the economy. That is not good for our country. And it is certainly not good for the deficit."

Based on the past, it is a seemingly overwhelming task confronting the new Congress and the new president. But that's not the way Panetta sees it. To him, the new year offers new possibilities. President Reagan will be gone, and with him goes the personal popularity that carried his political agenda. Members of Congress have seen the stock market crash and recognized the realities of Gramm-Rudman: If they don't cut the budget, the budget rules will do it for them automatically and across-the-board. The bipartisan budget summit last year already proved the job could be done.

New congressional leaders are also coming on board. And among them is the classical pianist-cum-congressman

Laura Mecoy writes for the Washington bureau of McClatchy Newspapers.

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who won't sit still for the same old budget stand-off that killed past budget-cutting efforts.

"This job entails taking on new challenges. If you don't want to take on new challenges, you shouldn't want to take on this job," Panetta said. "You can make a difference."

This restless congressman with an infectious laugh really seems to believe this sort of stuff. His friends say he is in political life for good-government reasons, and they often describe him with the simple phrase: "What you see is what you get."

Panetta

But what Leon Panetta will get from the Budget Committee chairmanship remains to be seen. It could become an insurmountable and politically destructive obstacle for this plain-spoken politician. No one likes being told "no" — certainly not powerful committee chairmen who spend the nation's tax dollars. Yet former House Budget Committee Chairman James Jones said the job means saying "no" a lot.

"Many powerful members of the House would like to see the Budget Committee eliminated," said the Oklahoma Democrat who has since left public life. "Leon will have a lot of powerful forces taking shots at the committee and the process. If you are going to get the budget down, all the solutions are very politically unpopular. He's going to have a tough time convincing the members to swallow the bitter medicine now rather than later."

Panetta has served 12 years in the House, and he's considered one of the brighter and harder-working members of Congress. He's gregarious and has an infectious laugh that almost borders on a giggle. He's a favorite of the Washington press corps who quote him often. He is quick with a quip, adept at capitalizing on issues, frequently available and usually in the know.

Panetta does seem to be in constant motion. He may be leading the fight against offshore oil drilling one day and rewriting the nation's hunger programs the next. He hits a few receptions after work, or he may go out to the movies with his congressmen roommates. But he often returns to the office late at night to work through the stack of paper atop his desk while watching "The Tonight Show."

His staff said he's slowed down just a bit since he moved into the Capitol Hill townhouse belonging to Martinez Democrat George Miller. Miller said he and his two other roommates — Democratic Congressmen Charles Schumer of New York and Marty Russo of Illinois — "made Leon move in" with them because they were worried about his workaholic lifestyle. Miller said they get Panetta out occasionally to have some fun. But even then, Miller said his hard-charging roommate often ends the evening in his office and doesn't come home "until David Letterman is on."

Come the weekend, Panetta usually is on a jet — sometimes even the red-eye flight — to California to be with his wife, Sylvia, and whichever of his three grown sons is visiting that weekend.

"Leon has one very good friend in his life, and that is his wife," said one former staff member. "He is an extremely devoted father and family man who could go on a retreat with five Paula Parkinsons, and I wouldn't give it a second thought."

The former staff member said Sylvia and Leon Panetta are truly a team, and that Sylvia Panetta, who runs the congressman's district office, is just as driven and demanding of the staff's time and effort as is her husband. Those demands sometimes anger their employees. But the Panettas work attitude also seems to breed loyalty. Several members of Panetta's staff have been with him more than eight years, and that is a relatively long term for House employees. John Franzen, for instance, ran Panetta's first campaign for office in 1976 and he still serves as campaign media consultant.

"Leon has a remarkable level of commitment to the job, and a remarkable amount of stamina," Franzen said. "He commands a great deal of loyalty because everyone knows no matter how much you do, he's going to do more."

That reputation for hard work earned Panetta the respect of most Democrats and Republicans and has made his campaign for the Budget Committee chairmanship all but a *fait accompli*.

This is Panetta's second bid for the top post on that committee. The first time, in 1984, Democrat William Gray, the part-time preacher, part-time congressman from Pennsylvania, practically stole the job out from under Panetta.

Then-speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill and other House leaders were worried that Panetta might cut social programs. But Gray, an inner-city Black viewed as more sympathetic toward these programs, had told Panetta he wouldn't run against him. Panetta's colleagues say Panetta was naive enough to believe Gray. Gray then quietly campaigned against a rule change Panetta needed before he could run for the chairmanship. The Carmel Valley Democrat already had served the six years allowed on the Budget Committee. The rule change was defeated, and Gray took over as chairman for the four years allowed under the House rules.

Panetta's next foray into internal House politics was perhaps the only time the congressman has faced high-visibility partisan criticism. He headed a panel that recounted the votes from the 1984 Indiana House race in which Democrat Frank McCloskey and Republican Richard McIntyre had finished in a dead heat. Panetta picked McCloskey the winner and Republicans attacked Panetta by name. Republican Congressman William Thomas of Bakersfield had also served on the commission and called Panetta's action political "rape."

The ironic part of all this is that for many of Panetta's Democratic colleagues, the congressman is not enough of a partisan. They say privately that Panetta lost to Gray because the Californian wouldn't play hardball. They say Panetta is not much good as an inside player in the House and he's not much good as an outside player because he doesn't raise the large sums of money that can buy an outsider's way into the inner circle.

Panetta has little need for a large campaign warchest. Although the Democratic registration margin has been slipping in this coastal district around Monterey, it is still secure for the popular incumbent, and Panetta has shown no interest in running for higher office. He was considered a potential contender for the 1982 Senate race, but he stayed out after then-Governor Jerry Brown announced his unsuccessful candidacy. Also, Panetta's 16th District is a tough place from which to launch a statewide campaign, since there are no major media outlets around Monterey or the Salinas area.

Yet, some of his California colleagues privately express some resentment for the congressman's apolitical approach to politics. One even described it as a "hair shirt approach."

Panetta, for instance, puts out a press release every year, taking credit for giving back money from his congressional staff allowance. Part of the reason he can do that is because his wife works for free as his district director. But it rankles some of his California colleagues because they think it makes them look bad.

They blame some of this on the way Panetta got into politics. He started out as a Republican. That was 1966, and

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Panetta had just finished a two-year stint in the Army as a first lieutenant. He went to work for California Republican Senator Thomas Kuchel as a legislative assistant.

Conservative Republican Max Rafferty beat Kuchel two years later and Panetta landed a job as special assistant to the secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. He soon was head of the department's Office of Civil Rights, and he says he was aggressive in enforcing those rights.

But these were the Nixon years, and soon the press was asking Panetta about rumors he was resigning from the job. He finally took the hint and stepped aside in 1970. He went to work for then-New York Mayor John Lindsay for a year. But he was growing increasingly bitter about the Republican Party. He was angry about the way he lost his federal job. He was angry about the way his first boss lost his job to a more conservative Republican. And he was angry about the Nixon administration's decision to try to defeat moderate Republican lawmakers. He switched parties and returned to Monterey, his birthplace, to practice law with his older brother.

He stayed out of politics for almost five years. But by 1976 his local congressman, Democrat Burt Talcott, was looking vulnerable. Panetta won in his first bid for office and has not had a tough race since.

Within his first year in Congress, Panetta introduced a bill calling for two-year budgeting. Some early-day members of his staff remember scratching their heads at such a notion. But Panetta relates that early-day budget interest to his basic philosophy of the world. He said he subscribes to the view of the world put forth in Paul Kennedy's book, "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers."

"The theme is that countries rise to power by their ability to have or gain resources, and they fall from power when they fail to properly manage those resources," Panetta said. "To some extent that is where the country is today ... Everything we do here relates to resources, and whether or not you have resources relates to budgets. I think I kind of understood from the beginning that that was where the action is."

Today, he says, the "bottom line is we are losing resources" by spending $166 billion annually to finance the debt. "Whether you care about housing, defense, education or a myriad of priorities we have in this country, the fact is we are losing more of our resources and, as a consequence, we are becoming unable to deal with those kinds of the priority problems."

He sees hope for change because of the success of the 1987 bipartisan budget summit that managed a compromise on federal spending. But he's worried about the new president. He said it's the president who's going to have to show the leadership now to bring about a bipartisan concensus once again to address the deficit. If that doesn't happen, Panetta says it could take another stock-market crash or some other crisis to drive the president and the Congress to the bargaining table.

"The hope is that the leadership will be there, both in the president and the Congress," he said. "I am prepared to play that role. I am prepared to make those tough choices. But there's no way I can sit here and tell you I can do it alone because this is a political institution. It reacts to how people feel out there. The only way it can be done is if people feel those are the right choices. Hopefully that is what will happen."

With that, he announces he has just a few minutes left to vote. He grabs a stack of files and his jacket, stops briefly to find his chief of staff and hurries off to the House floor for another vote. Leon Panetta is on the move again.

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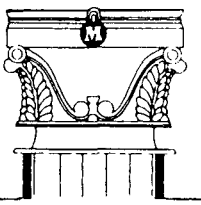

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

President George Bush

A week before the election that made him president, George Bush's handlers came up with a new slogan to pull together the scattered themes and punchlines of his standard stump speech.

THE REPUBLICAN VICE PRESIDENT TOLD audiences from Newark to Covina that his election would be a "mainstream mandate."

This line was added to Bush's repertoire because his savvy strategists believed — or at least hoped — that just claiming a mandate often enough might help make it so. "It helps to remind people that George Bush has stood for the mainstream values through the course of the campaign," a senior Bush aide told reporters traveling with the winning candidate a few days before the election. "It reminds people what they're looking for."

As Bush's advisers had anticipated, many in the Washington establishment consider his victory a somewhat hollow one. There is no doubt that voters rejected the liberalism of Democrat Michael Dukakis and that they'd like the relative peace and prosperity of the Reagan years extended — preferably forever. Beyond those generalities, however, it is unclear just what they want or expect President Bush to accomplish.

The argument is that Bush will not enjoy a clear "mandate" from the voters because he did not provide them a clear, positive agenda in a campaign dominated by snarling attacks.

It is similar to the complaints about President Reagan's re-election campaign in 1984. Reagan retreated to his warm and fuzzy "Morning in America" themes. He came away with a resounding victory but no clear agenda as he entered a second term that turned out to be rudderless and troubled.

Ed Rollins, the ex-Californian who managed Reagan's 1984 campaign, warned before Bush's election that the vice president will need to move boldly in his first 100 days to carve out the agenda that his Dukakis-bashing campaign failed to delineate.

Rollins predicted that Democrats in Congress will react to Dukakis' defeat by telling each other: "We've lost this thing, but we still control the power in this town. Bush doesn't have a mandate, so let's put through our agenda. Let's play hardball."

Republican Rollins added bluntly, "Unless Bush comes forward with a very effective plan, we're basically going to see some tough times ahead."

Of course, Bush's aides insist that voters knew exactly what to expect, that the next president won on crystal-clear themes ranging from a vehement refusal to raise taxes to a continuation of Reagan's "peace through strength" military stance.

Nonetheless, Bush seems destined to have stormy relations with the Democratic-controlled Congress, whose members may hold a considerable grudge over the bare-knuckle tactics he used in attacking their hapless standard-bearer. Also, the Democrats may be in a fighting mood after spending most of the last eight years cowed by Reagan's personal popularity.

"Congress will be lying in wait for him to get sweet revenge for eight years of abuse under Reagan," said analyst William Schneider of the American Enterprise Institute.

Analysts of all stripes expect Bush to veto legislation far more frequently than Reagan, whose veto bark proved worse than his bite.

During the campaign, Bush at times assured voters that he would sit down and work cooperatively with Congress. More frequently, Bush won cheers by predicting a bitter showdown over taxes and promising he would tell the big spenders on Capitol Hill, "Read my lips: No new taxes."

The greatest mystery is which George Bush will set up shop in the Oval Office on January 20 — the tough-talking conservative of the read-my-lips ultimatum or the warm and sensitive guy who promised to bring us a "kinder, gentler" nation.

The kind-and-gentle Bush is very much in keeping with his genteel background as a bluebood son of the old eastern Republican establishment. The newer, tougher Bush is an unvarnished, rip-roarin' conservative in the western style of Reagan, whose ever-faithful servant Bush became for eight years.

Many who study Bush disagree about which one will be on the job in the White House. Presidential historian Michael Beschloss of the Smithsonian Institution predicts that Bush will "revert to his more moderate instincts. He really comes out of the Eisenhower-Ford tradition."

But New Right leader Richard Viguerie disagrees. "It's not only that he campaigned as a conservative but that he chose a conservative as vice president," Viguerie said, with an enthusiasm for Dan Quayle that not all Americans share. Viguerie predicted that conservatives will like the first few years of a Bush administration "significantly better than they did the last two years of the Reagan administration."

James Lake, a senior Bush adviser during the campaign, predicted that America will "continue to see both" Bushes.

Lake argued that Bush will hang tough on conservative fundamentals, such as defense and taxes, but pursue a "kinder, gentler" agenda on quality-of-life issues such as better education and protection of the environment.

WHICHEVER WAY BUSH CHOOSES TO GO, it's a sure thing that the most famous senior citizen in Bel Air will be rooting for him.

The California era in Washington is over, at least until the biggest state can turn out another presidential-class politician. But Ronald Reagan is headed for an active retirement, confident that his legacy is being guarded by his protege.

Larry Liebert is Washington Bureau Chief of the San Francisco Chronicle.

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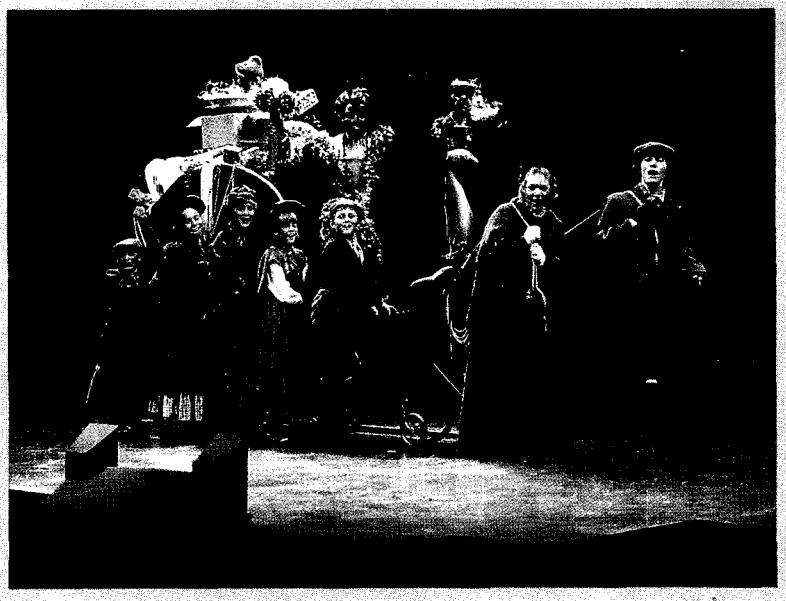

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